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NOTICES OF

THE REFORMATION

In Navarre.

IN THE

SOUTH-WEST PROVINCES OF FRANCE.

BY ROBERT FRANCIS JAMESON.

||

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INTRODUCTION.

THE south-west of France presents many attractions to the traveller and the invalid, from the varied character of the scenery, and the mild nature of the climate. The superb city of Bordeaux, and the vine-covered banks of the Garonne, lie on the northern frontier of this tract; the dreary waste of the *Landes* occupies its centre; while along the southern limit, the magnificent range of the Pyrennees, with their numerous valleys, presents landscapes and climates to suit all tastes and constitutions. These latter portions comprise what was formerly known as the province of Bèarn, the principal of the several small states or counties, which formed the ancient kingdom of Navarre. The capital of this little monarchy was Pau, a town now possessing fourteen thousand inhabitants, situated on a promontory fronting the south, whose abrupt cliff overlooks a broad, strag-

gling, but unnavigable river, (the Gave de Pau,) and a series of hills tufted with *Chateaux* and vineyards, above which rise, with stupendous grandeur, the snowy tops of the Pyrenneès. On the highest point of this promontory stands the *Chateau d'Henri quatre*.

As I purposed making some little stay at Pau, I was led to look around me with more steady enquiry than mere passers-by either do or can do. The '*Parc*,' from its English look and name, its delicious shade and range of prospect, first engaged my attention. A lovely tract of country lay before me, with a brilliant sun beaming on it. It was market day, and crowds of peasants, (the men dressed like Scotch highlanders, the females like Welsh women, except the *hat*,) came pouring along the roads, some on rough angular-limbed nags, (the women *astride*,) some in ox-carts, and some *in* wooden shoes, the exact model of a New Zealand canoe. All were gabbling their not unmusical *patois*¹ with a cheerful air. Every one, old and young, looked comely and good-humoured,

¹ It is a mixture of French and Spanish, as will be seen by this verse of one of the popular songs :—

“ Au mounde nou y a nat Partou
 Coum lou qui m'ayme à you :
 Eth sap parla pla lon *Francès*,
 Dab lan gran yen qu' in ey courtès !

and one might notice, at the meeting of roads, the friendly greetings of encountering groups, as they jostled on to the Pau market; and the little aids offered to little mishaps, without the seeming thought that the delay might lose them a customer at the *Place de la Halle*. This is an amiable people, thought I. My next thought was, how they became such, for, my good reader, (although I call you and the Bearnoise so yet,) I believe "there is none *good*, no not one," naturally. Besides here in France, (la belle France,) they have had two or three revolutions within the last century, in one of which, at least, social demoralization reached its lowest depth, a jubilee of crime, a pandemonium without its dignity or diabolical sagacity.¹ Has religion ("pure religion and unde-

Si pourtave espade, you crey,
Que semblarè lou Rey."

In all the world there is not a swain,
Like he who for me expresses his pain;
He speaks the *French* so wond'rous well,
Like the great *Monsieurs* at court do dwell!
I think if the sword was beside him to swing,
He would have all the air and the look of a king.

¹ The *squirrel*-like humour for *revolutions* still exists in France. The democratic spirit of levelling, which modern intellect seems to think sufficient for the reproduction of Paradise, (opposed though it be to the course and laws of nature,) would, if it could be effected, speedily end in the way the prophet Isaiah has fore-

filed,") mellowed their character ; thought I. The thought was an idle one, for I knew that, in this department of the Lower Pyrennees, there were four hundred and seven Romanist churches, and one Jewish synagogue ; while *per contra*, there were only *ten* Protestant "*temples*." Now I am not a bigot, when I make this moral computation of the effects of doctrine, but — I have travelled, and read history : I had noticed, also, the total want of respect which the people evince towards the Romish Priests. They were jostled about, as if they had not been, (both in creed and spirit) the legitimate *successors of the apostles*, and had not belonged to the *infallible church*.

I turned to the left, and the ancient pile on the verge of the cliff was before me. It was the *Chateau*, where Marguerite de Valois had discussed points of faith with Calvin and Beza, and acquired the then rare knowledge of the truth : it was the palace where Jeanne d'Albret (the "good Queen Bess" of these regions) had reigned, after the model of King Josiah, who "did that which was

told. The restless jarring and selfish contention of men would *equally* exist amongst those *equalizers*, until worn out and disgusted with their new state, in which, of course, there could be no "*decider*" amongst them, they would call on some gigantic agitator—"Thou hast clothing, be thou our *Ruler*, and let this ruin be under thy hand." (*Isaiah* iii. 6.)

right in the sight of the Lord ;" it was the castle where *Henri Quatre* was born, who,—but I shall speak of him hereafter. Now, to my shame be it spoken, though I was intimately acquainted with *Henri*, I was not quite so familiar with his mother. I had admired her spirited conduct at Rochelle, and revered her as the mother of a hero ; but I was less conversant with her history at home, in this her little kingdom, than I ought to have been, before I visited her romantic capital. *Here*, she had " fought the good fight of faith," with eminent success ; *here* she had planted the standard of truth, which, for half a century, had waved in these sunny realms, " lifted up on the high mountains." Might not the *little leaven* of those days have *leavened the whole lump* of society ? Might not the inoculation of truth in the Bearnoise of the sixteenth century, have caused their descendants of the nineteenth to take the common disease of our nature more kindly ?

The interest excited by these ideas, induced me to extend my knowledge of the local history of this ex-kingdom, and for this purpose I obtained an introduction to the Reverend Doctor Don Juan de Herrando, the principal librarian of the extensive collection belonging to the town, preserved in the ancient monastery of the Cordeliers. This worthy Spaniard, (to whose courtesy and informa-

tion I am much a debtor,) has been for seven and twenty years the superintendant of this library, many curious works of which he has rescued from the ravages of time and revolution. By his kindness I was placed in one of the ancient cloisters, and provided with materials for attaining the object I desired. On one side of me were the works of the Protestants, on the other, those of the Romanist historians, which I will now enumerate, to save the trouble of more particular reference in the subsequent pages.

PROTESTANTS.

Olhagaray :—Histoire de Béarn et Foix.
Daubigné :—Histoire Universelle : (Navarre.)
Le Duc de Rohan :—Mémoires de sa Vie.
Le Vassor :—Histoire de Louis XIII.
Bruzen de la Martinière :—Histoire de la Vie de Louis XIV.

ROMANISTS.

Favin :—Histoire de Navarre.
Marca :—Idem.
Mirasson :—Essai sur l'histoire de Béarn.
Poeydevant :—Les Troubles de Béarn.
Montlucq :—Commentaires de sa Vie.
Vauvilliers :—Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret.

NEUTRALS :—*Le Duc de Sully*.

Bayle.

From these sources I derived a knowledge of the local history of Béarn, which interested me, not only as a sojourner there, but also as a native

of the British empire. I was particularly struck with the similarity between the history of Navarre, during the seventeenth century, and that of Ireland during the present. The contest between the two great branches of Christian doctrine, was here carried on, with the same stormy outcry in the name of the Prince of Peace. Here were seen those, who would "inherit the earth," claiming their asserted right, not by "*meekness*," but defiance. Here was to be seen a Goliath, professing to defend the ark; and a Samson in his blindness, pulling at the pillars of the Lord's temple, instead of that of Dagon. One thing however, was *not* to be seen *here*: men, in the vain conceit of their own imaginations, and, in ignorance of the very nature of religion, endeavouring to revolutionize the *kingdom* of God into a *republic*!

If 'biography is history speaking by examples,' history illustrates biography by manifesting the principles which guided those examples; and it is the knowledge of the motives of human action, which it is most desirable to attain. For this purpose I have drawn up a few '*notices*' of the religious history of Bèarn, in reference to the struggle between the Romanists and Protestants. The conduct of the Romish Church, in its invariable persecution of those who differ from it, has been recorded by numerous examples in history.

The more numerous those examples, the more certain will be the deduction of the *principles* which guided that conduct. If the conduct of the Romish Church in Bèarn, was precisely similar to that which it is now pursuing in Ireland, (and I fear also in England,) we must infer that the same motives lead to, and the same principles govern, the proceedings of that church in the latter, as they did in the former instance. God grant that the *same result* may not ensue! To aid in preventing it, (that is, to aid human effort) I have put my hand to the rope in sounding the *tocsin*.

In giving a picture of the times when Protestantism prevailed in Bèarn, I have not finished the sketch by painting its ruins. The landscape of this period would neither be picturesque nor pleasing. It would be like a view of that part of the ocean, where some lamented friend was lost.

There are only ten small places, (the French word "*temple*" is neither significant nor Christian,) of Protestant worship in this district of Bèarn, now the department of the lower Pyrénées. They are at Bayonne, Orthez, Sauveterre, Lagorre, Monte, Castletarb, Nay, Osse, Salieres, and Pau; at which latter town, the Protestants assemble in a *small room*, rented by the English visitants for their own use. That amiable lady,

the duchess of Gordon, has purchased a site for a Protestant church and school-room, both of which are in great forwardness; but the finishing of which is now suspended for want of funds. Alas! that 'all who behold it,' of *the Romish Church*, 'begin to mock.' I wish I could induce my readers, (if I have any,) to aid in the restoration of religion amongst the Bèarnoise. They are of a mild plastic temperament and lively capacity, fitting them for instruction; they live under tolerant laws, and they have the memory of 'the good old times' of Jeanne d'Albret still in remembrance, to inspirit the effort for their recurrence. Their present Protestant pastor, M. Jules Leonard Buscarlet, a man of piety and ardent feeling, must find his exertions futile to increase his congregation, until a fit place for assembly is opened.

The Romish Church in France is reviving its ancient spirit of assumption. The existing laws prohibit public processions of Roman ceremonies in towns where there are Protestant 'temples.' The erection of convents is also illegal. But both these prohibitions are violated. The violation of the one engenders a disposition openly to condemn other creeds, and exhibits too much air of authority and mastery, in a nation which has, *legally*, no established religion. Perhaps the

institution of retreats for the friendless and broken-hearted (if restricted to such,) might not be objected to, if we did not know the encroaching spirit of Romanism, and that in these cloistered barracks, its forces have been disciplined for the subjugation of the minds (not the hearts,) of men. The motives for seeking these retreats are also, usually, very questionable. Even the declared one,—abhorrence of the world,—is more fretfulness than change of spirit. One of the authors of the '*Chants Chrétiens*,' collected by M. Henri Luterot, has well expressed this.

CANTIQUE 122.

Il est aisé de te hair
Monde qui plais, monde qui trompes ;
Aisé de maudire et flétrir
Tes biens, tes voluptés, tes pompes.
Quand on a bu peine et plaisir
Au vase que tu nous présentes
Quand on connaît ce que tu vantes,
Il est aisé de te hair.

Quand on a vu dans tes douleurs
Moins d'amertume que en tes fêtes,
Quand age a fané les couleurs
Des fleurs dont tu parais nos têtes :
Quand l'âme, avide de l'avenir,
Au bout d'une vaine poursuite,

Se voit au seiul du dernier gîte
Il est aise de te hair.

It is an easy thing to hate
The world which cheats thee with its lures ;
Easy to scorn its wealth and state
When poverty and pain are yours.
When cloying joy and bitter woe,
From the same flowing cup we drain,—
The world, when all its wiles we know,
It is full easy to disdain.

World, when thy very woes are found
Less bitter than thy pleasures be ;
When time has stript the wreaths that bound
Our brows, in hours of festal glee ;
When, tired of vain pursuit, the soul,
The future eyes with anxious ken,
Just on the threshold of the goal,
Tis easy, world, to hate thee then.

PAU. *January, 1839.*

THE REFORMATION IN NAVARRE.

CHAPTER I.

MARGUERITE DE VALOIS ET D'ALENÇON,
QUEEN OF NAVARRE.

THE doctrines of the Reformation were early disseminated in France, where many pious and enquiring minds, disgusted by the general laxity of clerical manners, and revolting from a mental subserviency to an ignorant priesthood, had already become desirous to receive, if not to attempt reform.¹ A conviction appears to have impressed those, who were thus weakened in clerical allegiance, that the doctrines professed and taught by a demoralized clergy, must either be erroneous

¹ 'La corruption des mœurs, la dissipation, le jeu, l'avarice, l'ignorance et l'oisiveté parmi les ecclésiastiques furent les avant-coureurs de ce schisme.' *Bordenave, Etat des Eglises, &c.*

or not have been brought forward to their full extent. The principle was the same: the repression of truth must either produce or advance error. It struck obviously on the opening intellect of the age, and roused enquiries, which, however, were left unsatisfied, from the difficulty of attaining information, since the Romish church had closed up the only source of truth. The full and broad flood of Gospel light which beamed on such minds, when Luther and his brother reformers broke down the barriers which had excluded it, was truly genial in its influence. As the holy light rose on the nations, though the great masses of ignorance and superstition stood unpenetrated and darkening all within their shadow, yet the rays shot hither and thither on many 'a happy valley;'—mind after mind was enlightened, heart after heart was warmed. In no part of Europe was this renovating influence more rapidly and consentaneously experienced than in the south-west provinces of France, lying between the Garonne and the Pyrenneés. This extensive tract of country had, formerly, been governed by petty but independent princes, the Counts of Foix, Bèarn, &c. but, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, was under the dominion of the house of Albret: Jean d'Albret (the first of that name) having by his marriage with Catharine de

Foix, obtained the crown of Navarre, of which kingdom these provinces formed a principal part. In the year 1512, Jean d'Albret the 2nd, (son of the preceding) was excommunicated by Pope Julius II. as an adherent to the council of Pisa, which had been convoked against the decrees and interests of that pontiff. Three centuries previously, one of Jean d'Albret's maternal ancestors, Gaston, Vicomte de Bèarn, had been equally distinguished by the rational glory of Popish excommunication. He had allied himself with the Comte de Thoulouse in defending the persecuted Albigenes.

By the Bull which Julius II. issued against Jean d'Albret, the kingdom of the latter was declared forfeited, and given to the first who could seize it. Ferdinand of Spain gladly availed himself of this licence, and forthwith took possession of High Navarre, or that portion of the Navarrese domain which lay on the southern side of the Pyrenneès. The loss of this territory, which has ever since remained annexed to the crown of Spain, was not a circumstance likely to dispose the king of Navarre to a more amicable feeling towards the head of the Roman church. His successors inherited this aversion, though it did not break out into open opposition to the Romish doctrines till the reign of Henry d'Albret the 2nd.

It was during the earlier period of his reign that Luther's opinions became generally promulgated. In France, as we have already observed, these opinions were eagerly received by many; by none with more devoted earnestness of heart and head than Marguerite of Valois, Duchess d'Alençon, and sister of Francis the 1st of France. This amiable, intelligent, and accomplished Princess was the daughter of Charles d'Orleans, Comte d'Angouleme, and of Louise of Savoy. She was born at Angouleme on the 11th of April, 1492. On the death of her father in 1496, Marguerite, with her mother, brother, and sister, were taken under the protection of the French court, and provided with the most ample means of instruction which that age afforded. Marguerite early distinguished herself by a love of study. She acquired a thorough knowledge of the Italian and Spanish languages, and is even said to have taken lessons in Hebrew from Paul Paradis, a celebrated scholar of that day. But it was not only by the embellishments of education that she was distinguished; she had a natural elegance of mind, a quick and judicious perception, which, joined to a peculiar sensitiveness of feeling, produced strength and rectitude of thinking, and established her character as a sensible and amiable woman. Her early piety was remarkable, the more so, since she

was brought up under the immediate care of her mother Louise of Savoy, who, as Robertson (Hist. Charles V. vol. iii.) describes her, was 'a woman, deceitful, vindictive, rapacious, and capable of sacrificing any thing to the gratification of her passions.' In her seventeenth year, such was the depth of her religious impressions, that she adopted for her device, a marigold bending to the sun (or, as it is more expressively noted in French, *une fleur de souci regardant le soleil*) with the motto 'non inferiora secutus,' *not following lower things*. It is true that she is represented as having adopted this device and motto on her marriage in December, 1509, with Charles, Duke d'Alençon, an union to which she had a strong repugnance, but which she was compelled to enter into by the French court from state motives. Still the tone of her mind, as well as feeling, is expressed. She turned for "perfect peace" unto Him who can alone bestow it, and "stayed" her mind with real consolation. The marriage was an unhappy one. The Duke d'Alençon was neither in person, mind, or manners, calculated to gain or retain the affections of a Marguerite de Valois. Her residence was chiefly at Angouleme, where her little court (of whom our Anna Boleyn was one, being a maid of honour) passed their time very domestically. Marguerite had a taste for poetry, and employed her pen very

early in such compositions as the taste of the time most favoured, in songs, pastorals, and 'moralities' or dramatic dialogues on moral or religious subjects. So devoted was the Duchess to authorship, that she never travelled without her writing-desk, which the grandmother of Brantome, the historian, usually held on her knee on such occasions. Even while engaged in needlework or tapestry, a secretary was always at hand, ready to note down her recitations. The fruits of her aptitude and preparation were numerous. The earliest work ascribed to her was the 'Tales'—('Contes de la Reine de Navarre') which, though now the only production bearing her name, that is generally known, yet there is good reason to doubt that it was written by her. The levity, almost grossness, of these Tales is utterly at variance with the character of Marguerite. All the other works, ascribed to her, were published in her life time, but the "Contes," were not published till nine years after her decease, viz. in 1558, and then *without any author's name* attached to them.

In the first edition there were only sixty-seven tales; in subsequent editions, many others were added, an unusual, and very unlikely procedure in the publication of a deceased writer's works. The only ground for the supposition that Marguerite had been the authoress of the work, seems to have

been that its object was to expose the misconduct of the Romish clergy. The period at which it was published in Paris, (in 1558,) was apparently selected to excite odium against the royal family of Navarre in the minds of the Romanists. At that very time the king and queen of Navarre, (the latter the daughter of Marguerite,) had quitted Paris for their own dominions, highly offended with the French king, because, in the conferences at Cercamp, for negociating peace with Spain, the interests of the Navarrese monarch had been entirely neglected. It is not probable that a *friend*, either to the family or memory of Marguerite de Valois, would have selected so inauspicious period for publishing a work of so very questionable a character, and none but a *friend* could have possessed either the materials or the power to publish.

The work, however, by the production of which she was principally distinguished during her life, was that entitled "*Le Miroir de l'ame pecheuse.*" This book, which was published at Alencon in 1531, exhibits a spirit of true piety and well-considered doctrine. It evinces a mind that had been accustomed to self-examination, and thoroughly instructed in pure and scriptural religion. The Roman Catholic doctrines of the merit of works, of purgatory, and the intercessory and

mediatorial power of the Virgin and the Saints, are entirely set aside. 'The blood of Christ alone,' says Beza, 'was her all-sufficient remedy.' 'Marguerite,' observes another French writer, (M. Eusebe Castaigne) 'semble avoir toujours en vue cette parole, de Saint Paul, in Adam omnes moriuntur, in Christo omnes vivificabantur.' 1 Cor. xv. 22. So great was the celebrity of this work, that our Queen Elizabeth translated it into English, and it was 'Imprinted in Apryl of the yeare of our Lord 1548,' under the title of 'A Godlie Meditation of the Christian soule.'

This work of the Duchess d'Alencon, though undoubtedly original in its matter and opinions, seems, however, to have been but an imitation of another with nearly similar title, which had been published eight years before the birth of Marguerite, viz. in 1484, by 'Robin Fouquet et Jehan Chrees.'

The Duke d'Alencon died in April 1525, leaving the Duchess still in the bloom of life and literary reputation, but without issue. Whatever her feelings might have been on this occasion, the capture of her brother, Francis the First, at the fatal battle of Pavia, but a few weeks previous, seems to have absorbed all its expression. Francis and his sister had always been warmly attached, and had lived on the most confidential terms.

His '*Marguerite des Marguerites*,' as he used to call her,¹ had often endeavoured to temper his gaiety by sober counsel, and was always listened to with attention, if not with effect. When the Duchess heard of his illness at Madrid, where he was imprisoned by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, she immediately determined to go to his assistance, and having procured a 'safe conduct' from the Spanish monarch, proceeded to that capital. The health and spirits of Francis were restored by the tender care of his sister. It is related of her (Oligaray, p. 502,) that she passed her time in reading to her brother, chiefly from the Bible, to which Francis was *then* very attentive.' She strictly adhered to the advice she had given to one of her dependents (Bertrand Elie,) viz. 'that he should never allow a day to pass without having attentively read several pages of the Holy Scriptures, and thus, by bathing our souls in the celestial liquor they distil, we shall be faithfully preserved against all kinds of evils and diabolical temptations.' With these endeavours for the eternal advantage of her brother, she added every effort for his temporal benefit. Having obtained

¹ *Marguerite* is the French word for a daisy.

² What an interesting subject for a Protestant painter: the gay, but almost despairing Francis listening to the Scripture lessons of his pious sister.

an interview with the Emperor, she urged every motive that might be likely to induce him to release his prisoner, ending with threats which so moved the conqueror's anger, that he is said to have determined to imprison her at the expiration of the period assigned for her safe conduct. The usual time required for a journey from Madrid to the French frontier, was then about fifteen days, but Marguerite, who had lingered in the vain hope of releasing her brother, having obtained information of the Emperor's design, suddenly set out from Madrid on horseback, and accomplishing the journey in eight days, reached the frontier at the end of the day on which her safe conduct expired.

Francis obtained his liberty not long after this period, and in 1527 gave his sister Marguerite in marriage to Henry d'Albret, (the second of that name,) King of Navarre. Marguerite was then in her thirty-fifth year, Henry in his twenty-fifth. He was a man of a spirited and yet sufficiently judicious character. He had shared the fate of his friend and ally, Francis, at the battle of Pavia; but escaped from confinement by a daring and ingenious stratagem. His opinions appear to have been inclined towards the doctrine, or, at least the party of the Reformers; and in the maintenance of these, his queen, Marguerite

d'Alencon, was a ready ally. It was at this period that a persecution of the Protestants commenced in Germany, and extending to France, numbers of the most eminent, and, consequently, the most exposed to danger amongst the Reformers, fled for refuge to the little court of the sovereigns of Navarre. The chief portion of the dominions then remaining to the d'Albret family, was the province of Bèarn. The court of the sovereign was held alternately at Pau and the castle of Barbaste near Nerac. At the latter of these places, the Queen of Navarre received the celebrated Calvin, then scarcely of age, and a number of other distinguished individuals; who, as Calvin declared, came to her as one 'who was promoting the kingdom of God.'¹ Amongst these was Gerard Roussel, a professor of the Sorbonne,—Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples, one of the most enlightened men of the age,—Clement Marot, the celebrated translator of the Psalms of David,—Pierre Caroli,—Etienne Dolet, &c. The first of these, (Roussel,) was a man eminent for his knowledge of Scripture, and the mild and progressive mode in which he advanced reform. He was peculiarly careful not to offend ancient prejudice, or to startle the wakening minds of those amongst

¹ 'Quod Deus (illa) usus fuerit ad regnum suum promovendum.'

whom he moved, by too rapid an advance. This offended the more ardent spirit of young Calvin, who denounced him as a temporizer.¹ But the procedure of Roussel was approved of by the Queen, who, in appointing him the court preacher, required him, when the first public service of the reformed worship was performed by him, to officiate in the dress of a monk. He was accustomed to say, when attacked respecting his apparent non-conformity to the then existing sects of reform, 'Je ne suis pas Lutheriste, ni Zuingliste, mais Rousseliste.' His opinions, however, were purely evangelical. He caused the Scriptures to be read in French in the churches, and the eucharist to be administered to the laity in both kinds, teaching that the Saviour was present only to the eye of faith. He abolished the worship of images, and the invocation of saints, and rejected the authority of the Holy See, which he charged with having blemished the purity of the religion of Jesus Christ, by gross superstitions. In 1543, Roussel was made bishop of Oloron, in Bearn, which see had a revenue of eighteen hundred crowns, an ample provision in those days. In this new station, he in a great measure threw off his cautious process of reform,

¹ Epist. Calvini : Epist. 62. The Queen of Navarre wrote to Calvin, on this occasion, justifying the conduct of Roussel.

promoting its progress by the most active measures. His zeal was ultimately the cause of his death.

The district of Soule, which formed part of the diocese of Oloron, had remained unmoved by changes of opinion, and was considered one of the strong-holds of the Romish faith. Roussel despatched thither one of his chaplains, who had been an Augustinian monk, as a missionary of the reformed religion. The preacher more particularly inveighed, like the proto-reformer of Germany, against indulgences. A great crowd assembled to hear him in the church of Mauléon. While he was declaiming against the superstitious usages of the place, one of the chief residents, named Pierre Maytie, roused by hearing their 'Diana' traduced, stood up and opposed him; and having excited the congregation against the preacher, he was pulled out of the pulpit, and driven with insult out of the town. The bishop of Oloron felt it necessary to punish this insult, and set out himself for Mauléon to re-establish his authority. He mounted the same pulpit, and addressed the people respecting the errors of their faith; but Maytie was again there, standing close to the pulpit, wrapped up in a huge cloak. While Roussel was in the full animation of his address, Maytie drew forth a hatchet from under

his cloak, and commenced cutting away the pillars of the pulpit. The tumult spread, the pulpit was soon levelled, and Roussel, still in it, thrown prostrate on the ground, bruised and almost lifeless. He escaped from the immediate consequences of their fury, but died shortly after from the injuries then sustained.

The death of Roussel was a great loss to the queen, whose efforts in the cause of reform had latterly met with great discouragement from the king of Navarre. Whether from a fear of offending Francis I.—from the persuasion of his Roman Catholic courtiers,—or from the unstable and half-enlightened nature of his own religious impressions, Henry became an opponent of the doctrines he had formerly favoured. He is said, on one occasion, to have gone to the queen's apartments, (where he had heard that a protestant minister was engaged in worship,) full of fury against the innovating teacher, and finding that he had fled, to have struck the queen, and declared he would inform her brother the king of France of her conduct. Francis immediately wrote to his sister, reprobating her support of the Protestants, and urging her to adhere to the 'ancient faith. Marguerite replied, that her commiseration for the misfortunes of so many pious and learned individuals had led her to aid them, but that she

had never designed to quit the 'ancient faith.' Marguerite, who never passed a day 'sans avoir attentivement vaqué à la lecture du Livre Sacre,' knew well what the '*ancient faith*' was.

But the reformed opinions had already taken root in Bèarn. The discussion of points of doctrine became general: those who argued were necessarily led to enquiry, which was amply aided by the many able and pious reformers, who had congregated in this district; while the Romish clergy, sunk in lethargy and ignorance, had little disposition and less ability for such mental contests. To check this spirit of enquiry, the king of Navarre issued a decree, on the 30th of August 1546, 'forbidding the clergy to preach, without having been previously examined and approved of by their bishops; and all persons were cautioned against disputing on religion in taverns, cabarets, public places, or *private houses*.' The absurdity and inefficacy of this latter injunction, was soon apparent. Restrictions of this nature have generally been found the best promoters of what they were designed to obviate. The deprivation of one sense has been said to quicken the power of another; so by restricting the expression of opinion, the inclination to form it was increased.

But this restrictive ordonnance, though ineffectual in repressing the opinions of the Béarnois, was enforced on their queen, with the added

agency of domestic surveillance. Marguerite does not appear to have lived happily with Henry of Navarre during the latter period of their union. She was now in her fifty-fifth year, and her husband was still in the summer period of man's life; a disparity not always considered compensated by the grace and beauty of mental character. One daughter alone remained 'as the fruit of their union,—Jeanne d'Albret, born at the Chateau de Pau, the 7th of January, 1528. But this only child was separated from her parents by the paramount influence of the king of France, who dreaded that her hand might be given to young Philip of Spain by her father, and her mind drawn away from Romanism by her mother. To prevent these consequences, injurious alike to his interests and his inclination, Francis, compulsorily, married his niece, when only in her twelfth year, to the Duke of Cleves.¹ The lonely mother was thus deprived of the society of her child, and when her next warmest object of regard, her brother Francis, died, (March 31, 1547) her spirit seems to have forsaken her, and the world to have become valueless. She retired to the little village of Tusson in Angouleme, joining a religious com-

¹ It is said that the infant bride was so overloaded with the weight of her gorgeous finery, as to be unable to walk; which compelled the constable of France to carry her in his arms from her carriage to the church.

munity of females, over whom she presided. Subsequently she removed to the Chateau d'Odos, near Tarbes, where she died December 21, 1549, from the effects of exposure in observing a comet which was then visible. While gazing anxiously at the celestial stranger, she was seized with paralysis, and, being immediately removed to her bed, died in eight days after. Her senses do not appear to have entirely forsaken her, even under the influence of the distressing malady which had attacked her. On hearing it observed that she was going to felicity—'Not yet,' she exclaimed—'I must sleep a long time in the earth first.' The Romish writers claim her as a re-convert, because, in her dying moments, she kissed a crucifix which was placed before her. She, who had embraced the cross in early life, and had so long borne it typically by patient endurance, might, surely, while in the agony of leaving one world, and in the earnest expectation of entering another, have clasped a crucifix without any superstitious feeling. The materialism of religion could have had but little influence over the dying senses of a Christian like the Queen of Navarre, who, while her paralytic hands grasped a crucifix, sufficiently declared the sort of feeling with which she viewed it, by thrice exclaiming, as she expired—'Jesus! Jesus! Jesus!'

CHAPTER II.

JEANNE D'ALBRET.

HENRY D'ALBRET (the 2nd.) of Navarre, survived his Queen about six years. His government was mild and beneficial to his people, nor does he appear to have enforced his 'Ordonnance' against the Reformed doctrines with any severity, but to have satisfied himself with declaring his own opinions by his publication. The incongruous marriage of his daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, with the Duke of Cleves, had been dissolved by Papal license, and another contracted (October 20, 1548) with Antoine de Bourbon, Duke de Vendome. The Princess was young and handsome, lively, and, as Brantome tells us, 'aimait une danse aussitot qu'un sermon.' She was of a shrewd discerning intellect, possessing the literary propensities and tastes of her mother, but with a far more determined and self-confident spirit. Though brought up in the Romish faith, yet she had

a full knowledge of the reformed doctrines, and early manifested an aversion to the grosser superstitions of Popery, yet without any earnest adherence to either faith. An anecdote is related of her, which seems to illustrate both the lightness of her temperament and of her religious impressions. The two eldest children of her second marriage had died in infancy. Her father despaired of having descendants to his throne, when, on the eve of the birth of her third child, afterwards the celebrated Henry IV. of France, she arrived at the Chateau de Pau, her father's residence. Henry d'Albret anxiously awaited the birth of an heir, which Jeanne had told him she would announce by singing a Bearnoise song, and being in the ante-chamber at the time of her accouchment, he heard her chanting the invocation to the Virgin, used by the common people—
' Noustre Dame dei cap dei pont, adjudatme a d'aqueste hore.' ' Our Lady of the Bridge-head, assist me in this hour !' This was in 1553. In 1555 the King of Navarre died, and Jeanne d'Albret ascended the throne of her ancestors. On the 18th of August, 1555, Jeanne, and her husband Antoine de Bourbon were crowned, taking the usual oaths, according to the forms of the Roman Catholic Church, to the rites and discipline of which they in every respect conformed. Two

days after this solemn ceremony, the estates of Bèarn (consisting of the nobility, clergy, and deputies of towns) presented an address to their new sovereigns, stating that 'A sect had latterly sprung up, infected with heresy, which offended the faithful by their contempt and transgression of the divine precepts; that, as it was the duty of the sovereign to protect the church against all injustice and persecution, they prayed their majesties to exhort the bishops to search diligently after these new sectaries, and to direct that, *in case of negligence on the part of the prelates*, the delinquents should be prosecuted by the judges of the ordinary court, who should report, every two months, their proceedings thereon; and that proclamation should be made by sound of trumpet in all towns and *markets*, commanding *all classes of people* to abstain from disputing on, or in any manner questioning the constitutions of the church.

It is evident, from the presentation and terms of this address, that the Reformed doctrines were, as yet, chiefly confined to the lower classes of the Bèarnoise people, although some, at least, of the prelates were disposed to favour them. That the '*sect*' had become considerable in number is also evinced by '*all classes of people in all towns and markets*,' requiring a legislative admonition.

The king and queen of Navarre averred, in

their answer to this address, that 'they desired to extirpate heresy in their dominions, and would direct the bishops to proceed against heretics in conformity with the edict of the late king Henry, issued in 1546.' An order was subsequently published, threatening the prelates with the seizure of their temporalities, in the case of laxity in the pursuit of heretics, and directing certain legal proceedings for their prosecution, 'in order that all heresy and all heretics should be exterminated.' Notwithstanding this apparent inquisitorial vigour, no prosecution was commenced against the new heresy. Jeanne d'Albret, when she came to reside in Bèarn, was brought into association with the friends of her late mother. These faithful adherents were the Protestant exiles whom the pious and tender-hearted Marguerite had sheltered from persecution; the learned Theodore Beza, the eloquent Henri Barran, and the enthusiastic and venerable Jaques Lefevre, who, when in the hundred and first year of his age, lamented, with his dying breath, that he had missed the crown of martyrdom. These and other eminent individuals were gladly welcomed by the filial feeling and acute understanding of the queen of Navarre. Her mother's writings and personal example were admonitory records; her mother's friends, illustrious examples, of the purer doctrines which she

found extending around her. The king, her husband, who was of a vacillating temper, appears to have been lured by the talents of those whom the Queen had received into favour, to listen with complacency, if not with conviction. Under these circumstances, the fulminations against heresy were mere summer thunderings, which, instead of causing ravage, only cleared and refreshed the atmosphere.

So great was the encouragement given by the sovereigns of Navarre to the remnant of the reformers who remained in that kingdom, after the death of Marguerite de Valois, that many others shortly joined them. Amongst these was a Genevese minister, Francis Guy de Boishormand, a man of considerable talent, who, with Henri Barran, formerly a monk of Bèarn, obtained so great an influence over the Queen, that she became a decided patroness of their doctrines. The Navarrese court again became the place of refuge for the oppressed Protestants of France and Germany, and, on every side, the welcomed strangers repaid the hospitality they received, by their missionary efforts.

These proceedings soon attracted the notice of the courts of Rome and Paris. Threats and admonitions were addressed to the king and queen of Navarre. To obviate the consequences

of these denunciations, especially from their feudal superior, the king of France, the Navarrese sovereigns determined to proceed to Paris, leaving the young prince Henry, (born Dec. 23, 1553) under the guardianship of Louis d'Albert, bishop of Lescar, and of Susanne de Bourbon, Baroness Miossens; while the government of the state was committed to the Cardinal d'Armagnac. One of the first proceedings of the latter was to imprison Henri Barran, and order Boismormond to quit Bèarn; while the husband of Susanne de Bourbon (the Baron de Miossens) and the bishop of Lescar, as President of the States, equally lent themselves to the establishment of coercive measures against the Reformers. A proclamation was issued, 'forbidding all private meetings for prayer and devotion; denouncing all those, who did not conform to the rites and usages of the Romish Church, as subject to banishment and forfeiture of goods; and warning all persons neither to read or lend books, that lay under the censure of the church.'

These measures appear to have been enforced with rigour, and, though the coerced Protestants of Bearn appealed to their sovereigns in France, yet they were unable to obtain relief, the influence of the French Court being paramount. Such was the degree of apprehension entertained

by Antoine and his queen, that they considered it expedient to attend mass publicly at Nerac, with the young Prince Henry, when they returned to Bèarn, and despatched Pierre d'Albret, Bishop of Commenges, to the Pope, with assurances of their allegiance to the Roman See. At the same time, (March 1560,) they issued an 'ordonnance,' for the due observance of ecclesiastical discipline.

In these measures, the king of Navarre seems to have been a more willing participant than his queen. While at Paris she had publicly attended the Protestant worship, at the *Pre aux Clercs*, and her domestic chaplain, (M. David,) was a minister of that church. But the king her husband had domestic alleviators of another kind; he carried with him a company of theatrical performers. His religious opinions, or rather, his *formulæ* of religion, had, also, during this sojourn at the French court, been drawn into greater conformity with established usages; having been induced to believe, that his temporal interests would suffer from too daring a profession of the new doctrines. The laxity of his moral conduct, in respect of his conjugal vows, had caused much coldness between his queen and himself. The influence of Jeanne d'Albret was thus materially weakened; but through the same cause, the in-

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fluence of religion on Jeanne was greatly strengthened. Whether the rule of patient endurance, both as to public and private evils, caused her acquiescence in an apparent adhesion to the Romish faith, cannot now be determined. The *policy* of the measure was questionable, especially when it is considered that no devious or simulative act can either be sanctioned by or tend to promote religion. But the subsequent conduct of the queen of Navarre made a large atonement for this error.

The death of Francis II. king of France, (5th of Dec. 1560,) occasioned the return of Antoine and the queen to St. Germain. Here the king of Navarre, either tired with the restraints of the severer code of the Reformers, or, as it is alleged, being really converted to Romanism by a priest named Baldwin, publicly professed that faith, and so far evinced his sincerity, that he removed Lagauchere, the Protestant tutor of his son prince Henry, and placed him under the entire control of Romish teachers. He used also every effort to induce the queen to renounce her opinions, proceeding even to harshness in the height of his zeal. But Jeanne d'Albret remained firm in the reformed faith, declaring 'that sooner than ever again go to mass or suffer her kingdom or her child to do so, she would, were it possible, cast them into the depths of the sea to

hinder it.'¹ An ocular witness (the cardinal de Ferrara) narrates² that, on one occasion, Jeanne took her young son (then eight years of age) in her arms, and 'uttered a long and earnest exhortation to him never to attend the mass in any way whatever; and, that if he disobeyed her in that, he might be assured she would disinherit him and no longer consider herself his mother.' Did the remembrance of that strongly expressed, but fond and maternal exhortation, glance on the mind or heart of Henry IV. when, in 1593, he bowed before the idols and incense of Notre Dame?

A character, at once so warm and so firm, could not hesitate on a course of proceeding. In the beginning of April 1561, Jeanne d'Albret was suddenly missed from the palace of her husband, and the court of France. She had fled to the hills of her native Bearn, and the more congenial advisers which they sheltered. The king of Navarre, who was governor of the French province of Guienne, despatched instructions to his Lieutenant, Blaise de Montlucq, a zealous opponent of the Protestants, to intercept the royal fugitive. But the queen had prepared for her flight, by previously directing her seneschal in Bearn, the Sieur de Dandaux, to meet her on the banks of

¹ Beza. Hist. Eccles. 1. p. 689.

² Lettres Politiques, p. 136.

the Garonne, with as large a force as he could assemble. Dandaux, who subsequently became a traitor to the Protestant cause, and was a man of loose life, in this instance so effectually performed his duty, that the queen reached Pau in safety.

The protectress of the reformed interest arrived most opportunely for its aid and maintenance.

Shortly after the death of Francis II, in 1560, the king of Navarre, then at St. Germain's, had, in conjunction with the queen Regent of France, issued a commission to Blaise de Montlucq, lieutenant-governor of Guienne, to raise a force for the maintenance of order in Bearn, and the bordering provinces. The contests between the Romanists and Reformers had become serious, for the number and power of the latter had so increased, that the former had to contend with nearly equal strength in opposing the advance of the 'new opinions.' The dark bigotry of the one party, and the fervid zeal of the other, were perpetually in conflict. Earnest religious feeling is essentially missionary, and we know that even the *Pharisees* would "compass sea and land to make one proselyte." Thus a sort of invasive principle is necessarily inherent in *all* sects, which does not permit a truce, and counteracts the usual neutralizing effect of equality. At

Bourdeaux, and at Auch, the two parties being nearly equal, disputed the possession of the churches; and throughout the whole range of country, from the Garonne to the Pyrennees, the near approach to equality produced aggression and contest.

Montlucq, who had been appointed to appease and quell these disorders, was a daring unhesitating leader, a bigotted Romanist, and an unscrupulous pursuer of his object. His brother Geoffroi de Montlucq had been a monk, and when Protestantism was in favour at the court of Navarre, under the auspices of Marguerite de Valois, he left his cloister and served that princess in several diplomatic missions, for which his character was peculiarly fitted. When the times changed, Geoffroi changed also, and became bishop of Valence.

The powers of Blaise de Montlucq were ample; he was to raise troops, '*pour courir sus,*' to *run down* all offenders against the peace; but two counsellors were appointed to attend him, Messrs. Compain and Gerard, who, desiring to apply the deliberative judgment of law, instead of the summary measures of war, to the breaches of order, are styled by Montlucq, in his Memoirs, 'the worst men in all France.' Instead, therefore, of these '*meschants hommes,*' he selected two able-

bodied men, armed with strong battle-axes, who, being constantly attendant on him, were popularly styled his *lacquies*. In addition to these, he raised a body of arquebusiers and pikemen, and taking his station at Bourdeaux, waited a fit occasion to commence his work of pacification. Before his troops were ready to take the field, a commotion broke out at La Plume, where two Protestants had been imprisoned by the authorities. Their fellow-religionists surrounded the town, demanding their liberation, but Montlucq had, as yet, only three hundred men arrayed, and therefore advised the magistrates to release their prisoners.

Not long after this, the magistrates at Agen endeavoured to seize a Protestant minister in that town, but were prevented by the people, who espoused his cause. Montlucq marched forthwith, overawed the people, secured the minister, and left him to the tender mercies of his persecutors. These, and other similar acts of oppression on conscience, excited the Protestants to resistance. At Marmaude they arose, attacked and burnt the Franciscan monastery, and drove the friars from the town. At Cahors and at Grenade, the Romanists took the lead, and massacred many of their opponents. Inspired by this success of his party, Montlucq took the field, but was previously waited on by a Protestant minister, M. de

Barelle, who came on the part of the Protestants, to lay their grievances before him. Montlucq states, that Barelle offered him, on the part of the Protestants, a body of four thousand men, to be paid by that party, to be placed under his command for the preservation of order. This offer, whether truly affirmed or not, is a sufficient proof of the strength and wealth of the reformers. But Montlucq was enraged at this presumption, as he termed it, and taking Barelle by the throat, threatened to hang him from the balcony of his house. Perhaps there is no fact that so fully illustrates the confidence of the Protestants, both in the justice and strength of their cause, than the return of Barelle, not long afterwards, to Montlucq, accompanied with the celebrated preacher Boismormand, for the purpose of again propitiating the fiery general, by a statement of the injuries and oppression their party had suffered. This was, indeed, entering the lion's den, but the same power which protected Daniel, ensured their safety.

That very night Montlucq secretly despatched his son-in-law, M. de Fontenelle, with a body of men to St. Menard, in order to seize the persons of several obnoxious Protestants, particularly M. Verdier, a nephew of the queen of Navarre's advocate. The mission was successfully executed,

and Verdier, with a deacon of one of the reformed churches, and two others, were brought into the presence of Montlucq. After a fierce declamation against the offending religionists, especially against Verdier, for having affirmed that he served a greater king than the governor of France, Montlucq seized the latter by the collar, and dashing him to the ground, ordered his two 'lacquies' who were present, to despatch him, which they did, by hacking him to death. Two others were hung, equally without form or trial, on an elm tree close by, and the poor deacon was flogged so unmercifully, that he died in eight days after. Six gentlemen, and thirty others of inferior rank, who had been taken prisoners at Saint Livrade by a detachment of Montlucq's forces, were also hung without judicial inquiry.

These butcheries only tended to exasperate the Reformers and compelled them to associate for defence. The town of Nerac was gained possession of by them; Leizac and Bazas were organized for resistance, and Lectoure (a fortified town near Agen) was occupied by them.

In this state of affairs the queen of Navarre arrived in Bearn. Her first care was to write to Montlucq to suspend his operations, on her undertaking to oblige the Protestants to lay down their arms. But Montlucq, though desirous of the

latter result, would not relinquish his crusade against the faith. He was aware that the queen, though the hereditary sovereign of Navarre, acted without, or rather in opposition to, the wishes and sanction of her husband. Her seneschal, the sieur de Dandaux kept up a treacherous, it may be styled a treasonable correspondence with the duke of Guise, the head of the Romish party, M. de Burie, the governor of Bearn, was a timid man and pressed the queen to give up the protection of the Protestant party, for fear of political consequences. But Jeanne d' Albret acted from higher motives than policy; she was firm in her faith and in its maintenance, and resolute in her measures. A body of five hundred Bearnaise troops were despatched by her to the assistance of the Protestants, shut up in Lectoure, by the forces of Montlucq. M. de Bugoles, who commanded in Lectoure, on hearing of the approach of the Bearnaise corps, sallied forth to meet them, but the two bands fell into an ambuscade, were routed, and Lectoure was taken. The captured Protestants suffered death by the orders of Montlucq. Nerac was also taken by storm by his forces, who drove out all of the Reformed party; men, women, and children flying from his merciless sword to the protection of the queen. The many defeats suffered by the Protestants at this time,

although they brought far more force into the field than Montlucq, may be adduced as proofs that their rising was not the result of long-designed and organized plans, but that they were driven into a defensive, and, as it must be acknowledged, sometimes an offensive array. Montlucq (who has left us an account of his exploits in which he details his cruelties as laudable exercises of 'Catholic' zeal) states that 'one could not touch the lowest Protestant without rousing the ire of the whole body;' an unconscious testimony to the deep influence of a pure faith in banding heart to heart and hand to hand, without respect to the usual selfish considerations of personal interest or safety.

At this juncture Antony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, died (17 November, 1562) of a wound received at the siege of Rouen, while engaged against the Huguenot party. Jeanne was consequently left uncontrolled mistress of her own actions. Antony and she had never met since they parted at Paris in April 1561. Their public conduct had been equally at variance. Antony having sided with the Romanist party and commissioned Montlucq to act in Bearn, while Jeanne supported the Protestants and opposed the operations of that ferocious leader. She now determined to act as an independent sovereign.

After several preparatory edicts (ordering an appropriation of fifteen thousand livres tournois (£625.) out of the ecclesiastical revenues of Bearn for the maintenance of the Reformed worship ; decreeing a registry of the valuables of the churches, and freedom of admission to the Reformed clergy to all parochial places of worship, for the administration of baptism and marriage,—Jeanne publicly received the communion, according to the Reformed rite, at the church of St. Martin at Pau, on Easter day 1563. The public processions of the Roman church, especially the Fête Dieu, were prohibited ; a restriction against which the estates of Bearn remonstrated in the strongest terms. The queen replied, that a double motive had induced her to issue these decrees, viz. the discharge of her own duty and conscience, and the safety of the souls of her subjects ; and, in answer to a second remonstrance from the estates, briefly commanded them not to set an example of disobedience to her decrees.

The opposition of the estates, or higher orders of the realm would, doubtless, have involved the queen in considerable difficulties, had not the bishop of Lescar, a cousin of the queen's, and the first in rank of the episcopal order, given an example of great weight, by enforcing the prohibition in his diocese, and by dismantling his

cathedral of its gorgeous altars, images, and other anti-scriptural devices. He even appointed two Protestant ministers, who had formerly been monks, to preach in the cathedral and administer the reformed communion to the queen, who went expressly to Lescar to support and commemorate this reform. At Oloron, the next diocese in episcopal rank, the queen was not so successful. Claude Regin, the bishop of Oloron, had succeeded Roussel the Reformed head of that diocese, after a lapse of eight years, during which there had been no bishop. The people of Oloron had become strengthened in the doctrines of the Reformation, but Regin, the new bishop, was a bigotted Romanist, and opposed their progress. The prohibition was received by him and his clergy with the utmost hostility. They fortified the Episcopal Palace and prepared for open and determined resistance, but the clergy were not seconded by the people, and the queen having despatched one of her judges and other officers to Oloron, the malcontents were arrested, and after a short imprisonment, released without further punishment.

The Romish clergy finding opposition fruitless, vented their indignation in a statement of their grievances to cardinal d' Armagnac, who had been governor or regent of Bearn some years previous.

The cardinal forthwith wrote to the queen, expostulating with her on her adoption and maintenance of the 'new opinions.' This letter and the reply which Jeanne d' Albret made to the missionary effort of the cardinal, merit consideration, both as affording a summary of the arguments adduced by the respective parties, in support of the Protestant and Romish faith, but still more as being illustrative of the mental character and spirit of the queen, who, as it is said, wrote her reply instantly, and returned it by the cardinal's courier. They will be given in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

LETTER FROM CARDINAL D' ARMAGNAC TO THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE. THE QUEEN'S REPLY.

THE following is the letter addressed to the queen by the cardinal d' Armagnac.

‘ Madam,

‘ The duty of the service in which I was born, and which I have continued faithfully to fulfil, both to the late sovereigns, your father and mother, as well as to the late king, your husband, has so complete an influence on my conduct, that I must ever be attentive to the means of sustaining your welfare and the glory of your illustrious house. Moved by the zeal which attaches me to your interests, I will never conceal from you whatever it is desirable that you should learn, and which I may have previously heard, trusting that you will receive, in good part, the representations of your long-tried, most attached and faithful servant, who will never offer to make them for his own private

advantage, but solely for the sake of your conscience and the prosperity of your affairs. I cannot, then, Madam, conceal from you the deep affliction which penetrates me on account of the information I have received of the overthrow of images and altars, and the pillage of ornaments, silver, and jewels, committed in the cathedral of Lescar by the agents of your authority, as well as the severity of those agents to the chapter and people by the interdiction of divine service. This proceeding appears to me the more monstrous, since it took place in your presence, and resulted from evil counsels, which must lead to your ruin. It is in vain for you to conceive that you can transplant the new religion into your dominions at your pleasure. The wishes of the ministers who have assured you of this, are at variance with those of your subjects. They will never consent to leave their religion, as they already have declared by their protest at the last meeting of the estates of Bearn. They will rather renounce the allegiance they owe to you, than that which they owe to God, and which their ancestors taught them to observe in the way adhered to by all Christendom. But, even supposing that they were reduced to accept your faith, consider what you would have to fear from the two sovereigns whose territories surround you, and who abhor nothing so much as the new opi-

nions with which you are so delighted. Their policy would lead them to seize your dominions, rather than suffer them to become the prey of strangers. To shelter you from these dangers, you have not, like England, the ocean for a rampart. Your conduct perils the fortunes of your children, and risks the beholding them deprived of a throne before they are entitled to occupy it. You will thus become worse than an infidel, by neglecting to provide for those of your own house. Such is the fruit of your Evangelism; the cause alike of rebellion, of scandal and of sacrilege, which are common at this time, and are sanctioned by those whom you term teachers of the faith, but who are only apostates from it. You would indeed be excusable, if these men came to you in sheep's clothing and deceived you; but they come openly as ravening wolves, using violence to kings and princes, to tear from them that liberty of conscience which they pretend to advocate.

'It was not thus that the early Christians acted. They were ready to suffer a thousand deaths, rather than cause the least scandal to their brethren. Instead of drawing the sword against their sovereign, they, on the contrary, bent their necks under the hand that struck them, showing this obedience even to idolatrous kings. Without entering into argument with you concerning the

errors you follow, I would lead you to consider that those who support these errors cannot extricate themselves, since they read neither the Fathers of the Church or the Decrees of the ancient Councils.¹ Search their doctrine; read it in St. Ignatius, St. Marcial, St. Denis, Tertullian, Irenæus, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom and many others, and you will find it opposed to that which the new doctors teach. You will allege, I make no doubt, that you should rely on the Scriptures rather than the writings of men. But we differ in their interpretation, and, if you affirm that they are clear, you give the lie to St. Peter, who declares that there are in St. Paul's Epistles obscure passages which the ignorant wrest to their own destruction. The prince of darkness spreads obscurity over light itself. Can there be

¹ It is singular that the Oxford Tract writers (nominal Protestants) use the same argument, at the present day, against the adherents to the Articles of the Church of England. I find that Bèarn had its '*Puseyism*' and its '*Professor*' at this time. Jean de Serres (one of the ministers of Bèarn and subsequently Professor of Theology at Nismes) published two works (one in 1577, '*Une exhortation pour la paix de l'Eglise*;' and another in 1597, '*Apparatus ad fidem Catholicam, sive de principiis religionis Christianæ communi omnium consensu semper et ubique ratis*,') in which similar opinions to those of the '*Oxford Tracts*,' are maintained. The first was condemned by the Synod of Samur, the second by that of Montpellier.

clearer and more positive words than these of the Saviour, "*this is my body*;" and yet, by the subtlety of your doctors, one finds the whole of Christendom divided and disputing as to their true meaning; and, although every one would readily admit that these words are indicative of a literal meaning, still your ministers persist in considering them as merely figurative, assimilating them to the phrases, *I am the door*; *I am the true vine*!"

' But, even in arguing on the interpretation of Scripture, ought we not to look to ancient tradition and the opinion of those who were both witnesses and interpreters of it? And has not God, who worked so many miracles through them, manifestly directed us to regard these holy personages rather than Luther and Calvin, Farel, Videl, and so many other presumptuous men, who would desire us to slight those reverend names and adopt their novelties? Would they have us hold an open council to hear them, or unite in one common opinion against the Catholic church? But that would be to expect *unity* in those who have the spirit of division, as is proved by the many sects into which their *Reform* is split. God permits this schism to manifest and point out which is the one and always existing church, according to his promise; notwithstanding what your prophets declare respecting it, that it has been hid for

twelve or thirteen hundred years under the darkness of idolatry, which, according to their absurd opinion, has covered it till the present period. It is astonishing that persons of good sense and who, like you, are endowed with the gifts of God, should allow themselves to be deceived by those who only labour to ruin souls. Many of the higher orders, who have been seduced thus like you, have become undeceived, and now regard those as dangerous heretics, who, for the purposes of imposition, had erected themselves into Reformers. In following their example, you will imitate your ancestors; you will preserve the crown to the prince your son, and you will secure the safety of your soul, which can only find it in the Catholic church.

‘ It is not through vanity that I thus become your adviser. The favours with which the deceased sovereigns, your father, your husband, and your mother honoured me, might entitle me to this privilege; but the character of the Legate of the Holy See in Bearn and Navarre, which you recognize in me, authorizes me to assume that office. The friendship which I bear you, through these great motives, moves me to beseech you with tears, to return into the great fold of Christians, and avoid the wolves who are pursuing you.

‘ Without wasting time in farther reflections, let

me intreat you to place in their former condition the churches of Lescar, of Pau, and other places which have been so deplorably desolated by you. This advice is preferable to that given you by your ministers, which it imports you to abandon, and if you neglect to follow it, I shall feel the deepest regret, under the apprehension that your conduct will entail the utmost misery, not only on yourself but others. If, however, you reject my counsel, I shall console myself for my want of success, by the assurance of having performed a good office, for your consideration, pursuant to my duty, and to the will of God our common father; and I shall no further concern myself, than as a loyal and faithful servant would, at the anger of a sick master, whose state makes him heedless of the remedies which are presented to him for his cure. The assurance I have both of the rectitude of my conscience and my humble regard for you, leads me again to pray you to pay attention to my words, and to receive them as the most devoted homage it is in my power to offer you. With God's assistance, I shall beseech him, without ceasing, to grant you length of days and happiness, with his strength and blessing, trusting that you will pardon the prolixity of this letter, as it proceeds from the abundance of the heart, which has carried me into greater extent than I designed when it was commenced

with the own hand of your most loyal and very obedient servant,

(Signed)

‘THE CARDINAL D’ ARMAGNAC.’

Viellepinte, August 18, 1563.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the specious humility of this letter, or the total absence of spiritual sentiment or *religious* argument which it exhibits. By referring to the Fathers and the ancient Councils of the church, for the meaning of the inspired writers of the Holy Scriptures, the cardinal virtually designates the sacred penmen as incorrect and obscure in their style, and as secondary and inferior to the uninspired authors, whom he refers to as clear and unerring guides. If the first generation of Christian instructors, who drew their facts and doctrines from their own knowledge and the guiding influence of the Holy Spirit, cannot be trusted as safe teachers, much less, it might be argued, can those who wrote in succeeding generations, without that immediate knowledge or inspiration: or if, on the contrary, the lapse of centuries increased the illuminating power of Christian expositors, then those who write latest must be admitted to be the safest guides, and consequently a Doddridge, a Henry, or a Scott, are names that should supersede those of Ignatius,

Chrysostom, Irenæus, or even Augustine. These observations it might seem irrelevant to make here, if by the rotation of time and the reproductive nature of worldly matter, the contest between Protestantism and Romanism had not again commenced: assertions are reiterated that have been formerly disproved, arguments reproduced that have been long since controverted. But the armour which St. Paul recommended to the Ephesians is still calculated for modern warfare, and God grant his people strength enough to use it.

The queen of Navarre replied to the cardinal d'Armagnac, as follows:—

‘My Cousin,

‘From my earliest years I have been acquainted with the zeal which attached you to the service of my kindred. I am not authorized by ignorance of that zeal to refuse it the praise and the esteem it merits, or to be prevented from feeling a gratitude which I should be desirous to continue towards those who like you, having partaken of the favour of my family, have preserved goodwill and fidelity towards it. I should trust you would still entertain those feelings towards me, as you profess to do, without allowing them to be changed or destroyed by the influence of I know not what religion or superstition; thanking you

at the same time for the advice you give me, and which I receive according to its varied character, the dissimilar and mingled points it touches, being divided between heaven and earth, God and men !

‘ As to the first point, concerning the reform which I have effected at Pau and at Lescar, and which I desire to extend throughout my sovereignty, I have learned it from the Bible, which I read more willingly than the works of your doctors. I have there found, in the account of king Josias, a model by which I ought to regulate my conduct, in order that I may not draw on my myself the reproach cast on those kings of Israel, who pretended to serve the Lord while they allowed the *high places* to remain.

‘ As to the ruin impending over me, through bad counsel, under the colour of religion, I am not so devoid of the gifts of God, or of the aid of friends, as to be unable to make choice of persons worthy of my confidence and capable of acting, not under a vain pretence, but with the true spirit of religion. Such as is the head, so are the members. I have not undertaken to plant a new religion in my dominions, but rather to rebuild the ruins of the ancient faith, which can only be regarded as a good design, and which I trust will be successful. I clearly perceive that you have been misinformed, both respecting the answer of my

estates and the disposition of my subjects. The two estates have professed their obedience to religion. The three first remonstrances were unfounded, but being satisfactorily answered, my subjects, ecclesiastics, nobles, and citizens, without exception, have vowed obedience, which is the safeguard against rebellion. I use no compulsion, nor punish with death or imprisonment, the exponents of arbitrary power.

‘ I know who my neighbours are: the one hates *my* religion as much as I do *his*; but that does not affect our mutual relations; and, besides, I am not so destitute of advice and friends as to have neglected all necessary precautions for the defence of my rights, in case of attack. My other neighbour I regard as the stem of which I have the honour to be an offshoot. Far from abhorring my religion, he protects it in the persons of the nobles; and of my son, who, like myself, is flattered by the honour which this connexion attaches to our house. Both modes of worship are recognized in his dominions, nor is any one despised on account of his faith. But even supposing that it were so; allowing even that my subjects should desire to claim the aid of either of these princes; the one would hesitate to receive them, through the fear that, in offending me, he might irritate a superior power, that is to say, France, to whom, as you know,

this country is of great importance; while the other, far from being in my estimation, a tyrant or usurper, on the contrary, covers and protects me under the shadow of his wings, where I feel assured of safety. Although you think to intimidate me, I am protected from all apprehension. First, by my confidence in God, whom I serve, and who knows how to defend his cause. Secondly, because my tranquillity is not affected by the designs of those whom I can easily oppose, and because the effect of these designs will never be to weaken my spirit or turn aside the resolution I have taken, and which I will execute, with the grace of Him who encompasses my country, as the ocean does England!

I do not perceive that I run the risk of sacrificing either my own welfare, or that of my son; on the contrary, I trust to strengthen it in the only way which every Christian should pursue; and even though the spirit of God might not inspire me with a knowledge of this way, yet human intellect would induce me to act as I do, from the many examples which I recal with regret, especially that of the late king, my husband, of whose history you well know the beginning, the course, and the end. Where are the splendid crowns you held out to him? Did he gain any by combatting against true religion and

his conscience? Yes, his *conscience*, as witness his last words addressed to the queen, declaring that he would cause the reformed ministers to preach throughout his territories, if he should be cured of his wound.¹ Mark the fruit of the gospel, which divine mercy causes to be gathered in its time and place. See the care of the eternal Father, who remembers those upon whom his name is called.'

I blush with shame when you talk of the many atrocities which you allege to have been committed by those of our faith: cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and thou shalt then see clearly the mote in thy brother's eye: purify the earth that is stained with the innocent blood which those of your party have shed, a fact you can bear testimony to; and I well know whence sprung the first disturbances, when the ministers of the gospel preaching every where under the sanction of the edict of tolerance issued in January 1559, you and the Cardinal de Tournon, injured the character of the late king, my husband, by inducing him to

¹ Unquestionably Jeanne must have been well informed of the particulars of her husband's death. De Thou affirms the fact as stated here, but Mezeray says, that Anthony died *irresolute*, as he had lived. Olligarray (a Protestant) is silent on the point. The 'last words' were sadly contradicted by the last actions of Anthony of Bourbon, and were at best only expressive of a provisional resolution. "The Queen" was Catharine de Medicis.

interrupt their efforts? I am far, however, from approving here the excesses committed in many places under the name of religion, and which our ministers deplore equally with all men of rectitude. My voice calls loudly for vengeance against their authors, who have profaned the true faith; by the grace of God, the disgrace of these disorders shall be effaced from Bèarn, which will be saved from this ruin, as well as all others with which it is threatened.

You are ignorant of what our ministers are, who preach patience, obedience to sovereigns, and the other virtues of which the apostles and the martyrs have left them an example. You will not dispute, you observe, about our doctrine: nor will I, although its truth is so manifest, that it is vain for you to call it false. It is not through mistrust of my cause that I refrain, but from the fear of making useless efforts to conduct you to the hill of Sion. You affirm that multitudes draw back from our belief, while I maintain that the number of its adherents increases daily. As to ancient authorities, I hear them every day cited by our ministers. I am not, indeed, sufficiently learned to have gone through so many works, but neither, I suspect, have you, nor are better versed in them than myself, as you were always known to be more acquainted with matters of state than those

of the church. You do wrong to blame us for having quitted the ancient faith. Take that blame to yourself, (*'prenez vous par le vez,'*) you who have rejected the milk with which you nourished my mother, before the honours of Rome had fascinated your eyes.

We are agreed on the reading the Scriptures, without looking farther. We acknowledge that there are difficult passages; your corruptions, which have rendered them so, have eaten like a canker. It is also too true, that the spirit of darkness blinds men; you and others have been examples of it. I have learned in our religion, that St. Augustine, (versus Adamantus,) had well explained these words, 'This is my body,' in saying that Jesus Christ spoke of his own body, while he gave the *sign* of it. This explanation is a better elucidation than that which you give of the passage, where the Saviour said, that he would speak no longer in parables, since, then, the supper had been finished. Read again these passages attentively, before you explain them so unhappily on any other occasion; it might be pardonable in me as a female, but you, a cardinal, to be so old and yet so ignorant! Truly, my cousin, I feel shame for you!

You affect to repeat often, *my* doctors, *my* ministers. Would to God they were mine, and that

I was enriched with so great a treasure. I would say with St. Paul, I am not ashamed of the gospel. But do not however believe, that I consider them infallible. I place no reliance on doctors, not even Calvin, Beza, and others, but as they follow Scripture. You would send them to a council. They desire it, provided that it shall be a free one, and that the parties should not be judges. The motive of the surety they require, is founded on the examples of John Huss and Jerome of Prague.

There are not many sects among our ministers, but rather amongst you, as I learned at Poissy.¹ We have one God, one faith, one church, which he has promised to govern until the end of the world. As to the morals and manners of our ministers, are you of opinion that they should go to Rome to learn better? You make them declare that the church has lain hid for twelve or thirteen hundred years. They said nothing like it, for they acknowledge an universal church, where it has been always existing, but not with you whom they deny to be the true church. They carry no farther a decision on the fate of those who preceded you in the same belief, leaving all to the secret judgment of God. False assertions should not be made, when one wishes to be believed.

¹ The Conference between the Protestants and Romanists held at Poissy near St. Germain en Laye in 1560.

I am equally astonished with you, that persons of good sense should be misled, and if you lose patience at it, I, who have much less than you, only view it in the same light.

Nothing afflicts me more than that you, after having received the truth, should have abandoned it for idolatry, because you there found the advancement of your fortune and worldly honours. I believe that if you are not guilty of the sin against the Holy Ghost, you are very nearly so. Hasten, I intreat you, to pray, for fear that the door of mercy may be shut against you. I must stop here, practising obedience to what God commands—“*be ye angry and sin not.*”

If it is true, as you say, that the followers of the faith have become persecutors, keep those titles for yourself which the Holy Spirit ascribes to you. When you call our ministers *disturbers*, it seems to me that I hear Ahab addressing Elijah, but the prophet answered—“I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy Father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and hast followed Baalim.” Have you no shame in inducing me to take a part, only sustained by those who league against their sovereign and God; so that far from thus gaining a title to my esteem, you hazard having to repent of your own attempts.

I understand, better than you do, how to act towards the princes, my allies, and to my son, who belongs to that church, out of which there is no salvation, and in which I feel assured of my own safety.

You beg me not to consider it strange or wrong that you have thus addressed me, since you act as legate of the pope; but I will not receive one at the same price which France has paid, who has had to repent of the bargain. I acknowledge God, as the only being to whom, in Bèarn, I am responsible for the exercise of my authority; I have not withdrawn from the Catholic church, nor adopted any error contrary to its creed. Keep, therefore, your tears to mourn your own danger, to which I will readily contribute mine, to shew my charity, if they can serve to draw you into the true fold of Christianity and tend to make you a shepherd instead of a hireling.

If you have no better reasons for combating my undertaking, do not again urge me to follow your worldly prudence; I consider it mere folly before God; it cannot impede my endeavours. *Your* doubts makes me tremble; *my* assurance makes me firm. When you desire again to persuade me, that the words of your mouth are the voice of your conscience and your faithfulness, be more careful, and let the fruitless letter you have

sent me be the last of that kind that I shall receive. I have seen the letter that you wrote to my cousin of Lescar,¹ and which he will answer: it is equally malignant and prejudiced. It is sufficient for me to observe that you would hurl upon the country of Bèarn, the misery into which you have plunged France. But though you may envy her prosperity, the Arbiter of her destinies will preserve it, notwithstanding your malicious intrigues; and, by his grace, will confirm it. May that grace abound towards you in the pardon of your sins! Yet I almost dread to beseech Him for it, lest He may address to me the reproach which Samuel met with on account of Saul.²

Receive this from one who knows not how to style herself; not being able to call herself a friend, and doubtful of any affinity till the time of repentance and conversion, when she will be

Your cousin and friend,

JEANNE.'

This most characteristic letter fully depicts the mind, heart, and temper of Jeanne d'Albret. Acute and sarcastic; ardent and devoted; irrita-

¹ Louis d'Albret, Bishop of Lescar, and guardian of prince Henry of Navarre. He was a '*laissez aller*' character.

² 1 Samuel xvi. 1. "And the Lord said unto Samuel, How long wilt thou mourn for Saul, seeing I have rejected him."

ble and daring. How firm and deeply felt must have been the conviction which her faith produced ! Her petty domain entirely encircled by the powerful sovereignties, ruled by the atrocious patron of the butchery of St. Bartholomew's, and the bigotted husband of our Smithfield Mary ! Her throne, was, as it were, on a sandy shelf, surrounded by the waves, beyond the reach of the fellow monarchs of her faith ! Her nobles, her dignified clergy, nay, her state advisers, for the most part, openly or secretly, opposed to her design ! And yet, with what assured, determined, and sagacious energy, did she maintain her holy cause ; advancing the standard of her faith with a resolute arm, while she exclaimed, like her royal prototype,—“ The Lord is on my side ; I will not fear what man can do unto me ! ”

CHAPTER IV.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE QUEEN.—THE ROMANISTS TRIUMPHANT.

A FEW weeks after the queen of Navarre had so decidedly evinced her determination to adhere to the Reformed doctrines, the thunder of the Vatican was brought to bear upon her. A citation from the pope was issued, September 28, 1568, and, notwithstanding an intercessory remonstrance from the court of France, was duly followed by excommunication, the declared forfeiture of her crown, and the absolution of her subjects from their oaths of allegiance. But Jeanne had secured her authority by prompt and well-combined measures, and the great body of her people were now too well acquainted with the errors of Romanism, to be led into rebellion by the anti-christian mandate.

In the February previous, an ecclesiastical council had been established, by which conventual

bodies were dissolved, and their property employed in the foundation of schools and charitable institutions. The symbols of Romanism, crosses, images, and altars, were removed, and the churches supplied with Reformed pastors. These changes were effected without much difficulty; the resistance made by the Romish priests not being supported by the people. A few imprisonments took place, of those contumaciously resisting, but in every instance, the queen almost immediately remitted the punishment. It is true that the estates of the kingdom warmly discussed the question of these changes, but the utmost opposition that resulted, was an address for liberty of conscience. The queen immediately issued an edict to that effect, arresting the progress of her ecclesiastical commissaries in '*dismantling*' the Roman edifices, and ordering the *statu quo* to be maintained. But the Romanists were interdicted from restoring their worship in the churches then in possession of the Protestants, or of extending their ecclesiastical influence.

This concession was a very slight one, for the officers of the ecclesiastical council had already passed through the land and effected their changes very generally. The higher order of the Roman clergy, and the nobles, formed the great majority of the estates, and yet, after fifteen days debate,

no stronger resolution was passed than that which induced this concession; so that neither the cause or the effect of it evinced any serious tendency to weaken the advance of reform.

A transient peace, or rather truce, between the Huguenots and the Romanists of France left the queen a period of leisure for her domestic government. In the regulation of this, she was ably and faithfully supported by the Count de Grammont, the head of a family long distinguished for its ability and devotedness to the house of Navarre. The expulsion of the monastic orders was followed by the establishment of colleges. The convents of the Jacobins and Dominicans at Orthez contained no less than two hundred and thirty of these useless drones, who were superseded by busy youths and instructors of the reformed faith. So unpopular were the monks, that they petitioned, when removing, for a military guard, to save them from insult. The golden chalices, censers, &c. used in public worship, by the self-called descendants and followers of the apostolic fishermen, were publicly sold, and the proceeds employed in the formation of public works. It is obvious that Romanism had lost its hold on popular feeling; in most instances a quiet sufferance, in some a joyous tumult, accompanied these public strippings of the "purple and scarlet, gold and precious stones."

The spirit of Erasmus, rather than that of Calvin, seemed prevalent with many. At Pau, the municipal body, being petitioned by the priests of the town, not to dispose of certain property granted to their church for masses for the dead, replied that the '*dead* having no need of support, the funds would be expended in maintaining *living* soldiers.' Again, the same body replied to a request to be allowed tapers during the Roman service, that 'when the days were dark or cloudy, they might light the tapers.'

But internal peace was soon broken, through the excitement caused by the resumption of the civil contest in France. The lull in the storm seems only to have led to its increased force. The Romanists struggled as for a last effort; the Protestants with the vigour of their youthful state.

At Thoulouse, the Romanist population rose on the Reformed, who defended themselves bravely, but sought to treat with their adversaries. This was refused, and the Protestants in the end were driven from the city, all their property seized, and three thousand five hundred of them put to the sword. At Limoux, where the Protestants were the strongest party, they suffered from treason. Their minister was massacred, with many others, and their goods confiscated. At Foix, similar scenes and results ensued. The Protestants were

the chief part of the population, and, on the outbreak of the religious contest, occupied the castle. M. de Pailles, the governor of the town, promised them protection. They listened to the deceit, opened their defences in a feeling of assurance, and were ruined. The Protestant minister, Antoine Caffer, saved himself in the disguise of a shepherd, but Pailles inflicted the most atrocious cruelties on many of those who had credulously fancied that *faith would be kept with heretics*. At Castries, the Protestants successfully resisted their enemies, and burnt the bishop's palace. These places were in the French territory, or on its immediate frontier, and the Romanist aggressors were excited or conducted by the king's authorities; but in the Navarrese domain the excitement was chiefly on the side of the Protestants; who were roused by the flight of the refugees into the Bearnoise territory, and their pitiable detail of sufferings. Though the outward demonstration of hostile feeling was not so strong in Bèarn, it was not less deep in the breasts of the Romish party. Open violence would have been unavailing on their part; recourse was, therefore, had to dark and secret proceedings. The Romish clergy engaged in this, as more suitable to them than the clash of weapons in the field. The Abbe de Sauvelade was the '*Apostolic*' leader, and enlisting several of the

displaced canons of Lescar and Oloron, with the Baron de Navailles and other Romish nobles, planned the course to be followed for restoring their faith in Bèarn. They took steps for seizing the persons of Jeanne d'Albret and her children, and hurrying them through the passes of the Pyrennees into Spain. On the same day, Whitsunday 1566, the conspirators at the head of the Romish population were to rise on their Protestant neighbours while engaged at divine service, and put all to the sword. But providence saved Bearn from the stain which the commission of this crime would have left on its history. A subordinate agent of the plot communicated its knowledge to his medical attendant, and by the latter it was carried to the queen. The detection of the conspiracy was considered by Jeanne as a sufficient punishment for its baffled agents; and, though Sauvelade, for a subsequent act of rebellion, was imprisoned, yet even with this added guilt, he was pardoned.

Lenity is only appreciated by noble minds, and the gloomy bigotry of superstition seems to consider that it is a crime to waste the better feelings of our nature on those who lie beyond its own dark confines. A Protestant, to the mind and feeling of a Romanist, is but a *promethean* man, not a fellow creature.

The personal immunity of offenders gave encouragement to those who were discontented with the queen's measures. Punishment was due to them, but they *liberally* threw in a gratuitous rebellion.

The prince of Conde and M. Chatillon, had renewed the civil contest in France, and called on the queen of Navarre, as a Protestant sovereign, to give aid to their cause. A body of her troops crossed the Garonne under the command of M. Caumont, for the camp of Conde, in October 1568.

The opportunity which the absence of an armed force gave, was not neglected by the Romanist leaders. The Count de Luxe, who held a Seignory in the district of Mauleon, in the north-west part of Bèarn, raised his tenantry, and seducing a small corps of men at arms, of which he held the command, from their allegiance to the queen, attacked and gained possession of Garris, about forty miles from Pau, and the only fortified place in that part of the country. The young prince of Navarre, then in his fifteenth year, proceeded against the rebels, who, on an assurance of being allowed the free exercise of their religion, submitted, but three of the leaders of the movement were excepted from the amnesty, and suffered death.

The body of troops under the Viscount Caumont, which had marched from Bearn to join the

Prince de Conde, hearing of this outbreak, fell upon the town of Bolbonne in their route to Montauban, and destroyed the monastery there. The system of reprisals recommenced. A number of Protestants who had assembled with a minister, M. Martin Tachard, (a preacher of great eminence,) at the village of Cabannes, was surprised in the night by a party of Montlucq's troops. Tachard was carried a prisoner to Thoulouse, into which town he was led with a number of paternosters, pasted on boards, hung round his neck, and subjected to derision and insult. When summoned before the tribunal that was appointed to examine him, he knelt down and prayed publicly to God, in terms suitable to his situation, then rising up, he solemnly warned his judges that they would suffer the just anger of their God, if they failed to act towards him in truth and sincerity. Notwithstanding this solemn warning, Tachard was condemned to be hung, and was drawn through the streets to the gallows, singing the 122nd Psalm. As a further indignity, his body was left hanging for two days. At Reolle, Montlucq hung eighty Protestants to the beams of the market-house. At Monsegur, which he took by storm, the Protestant population were put to the sword, and twenty fugitives having been subsequently found secreted in houses, were also

ordered by him to be hung. That the Protestant troops should have retaliated, (though not with the same barbarous atrocity,) cannot excite astonishment.

The civil war in France was of short duration. It commenced in September 1567, and peace was signed on the 23d of March following. The Bearnaise revolvers, thus losing the support they counted on, were easily induced to submit to the queen of Navarre, who, when the Count de Luxe and his associates knelt before her at her Chateau de Pau, addressed them to this purport: 'That the overruling providence of God, which works in all things for his honour and glory, having preserved her hitherto, she was thereby taught to show equal mercy to others, and in so doing, she desired to efface the memory of their misdeeds. On the assurance of their amendment, she forgave the past, trusting that her clemency would produce worthy fruit in the future.'

Such was the benign character of this most Christian queen! Such was the language of the first Protestant authority in France, only five years before the massacre of St. Bartholomew's. But "even so; every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit."

Charles the Ninth, the French king, was at

that period engaged with his spiritual advisers, in the preparation of the means for the general slaughter of the Protestants, which was soon after perpetrated. Jeanne d'Albret being "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence" to the extirpators of "heresy," was accordingly marked out for immolation.

M. de la Mothe Fenelon was, therefore, despatched on an embassy to the Navarrese queen, under the ostensible character of arbitrator between the queen and her revolted subjects; but at the same time, to save the trouble and expense of a second mission, he was the bearer of a commission from the king of France to the count de Luxe, empowering him to levy troops for the support of the Romanist cause, in anticipation of the renewal of the civil war. In a few months after, the war was resumed, and by the provident prudence of the king of France, de Luxe was immediately in the field against his sovereign the queen of Navarre. Jeanne took steps to defend herself. To defray her expences, all the Romanist convents, oratories, and extra-parochial chapels were sold, as well as the remaining ornaments of value in the churches. The estates of her kingdom, also, notwithstanding their former remonstrances, gave her a subsidy of twelve thousand crowns. Jeanne at the same time wrote to our queen, Elizabeth of

England, detailing her situation and danger, and entreating the aid of that great Protestant princess. The appeal of her suffering sister was readily listened to by Elizabeth, who sent Jeanne the sum of 100,000 angels, (£50,000.) and six pieces of cannon with all their furniture. With these resources troops were speedily arrayed, at the head of a part of which, Jeanne set out for Rochelle, where the prince of Conde, and the heads of the Protestant party were assembled; leaving the government of her territories to her lieutenant-general, the baron d'Arros, and the president of her council, M. de Salettes. It is probable, as the Protestant historians conjecture, that the queen left Bèarn, with her son and daughter, for the greater security which the Huguenot army afforded, and, possibly, on account of the distrust which the revolt of her subjects had engendered. But the estates and people of Bèarn testified the utmost loyalty to their sovereign, levying forces, and raising money for her service. The estates also despatched two commissioners to the queen, one a Protestant, the other a Romanist, to assure her of their fidelity and adherence,

The national feeling of the Bearnoise had been roused by the proclamation issued by Charles the Ninth of France, on the breaking out of the war against the queen of Navarre. In this proclama-

tion, the king declared the territories of the queen to be forfeited, and announced his design to occupy them. The appointment of de Luxe (a pardoned rebel,) to act as his lieutenant in the queen's dominion, was not a measure calculated to draw any honourable man to his standard; and, possibly, for this reason, he was superseded in his command, and the leading of the revolt in Bèarn and Navarre, entrusted to Antoine de Lomagne, viscount de Terride.

The state of the country at this time was lamentable. Each one took the side which opinion, interest, or connection led to. Dandaux, formerly so active in the service of the queen, forsook her for the French party, and became her active enemy. But the Baron d'Arros, the queen's Lieutenant, was indefatigable in his exertions to sustain her cause. With the forces he had raised he invested Oloron, of which the Romanists had gained possession. D'Arros had taken prisoner M. Desgarraque, who commanded the town, together with several of the chief of his party, and thinking to terrify the garrison into a surrender, sent a notice to the besieged, that he would put his prisoners to death if they did not yield the town. The son of Desgarraque commanded as his father's deputy, but firm in his military feeling, only answered by firing on D'Arros. The baron

impetuously assaulted the town, but was routed with considerable loss. A proposition was subsequently made to Arros, to give up Oloron on his releasing his prisoners. It was accepted, but the prisoners being given up with too little precaution, the party in Oloron refused to surrender.

This check lured many of the Romanist waverers to throw off their neutral disguise, and come forth in arms against the queen. Many of her former councillors and commanders espoused the anti-protestant side. Town after town fell into their hands; those places that resisted (such as Nay) being subjected to fire and sword and the most barbarous cruelty. The threat of inflicting similar atrocities on all who resisted, was sufficient to induce a surrender, for Arros had no means of affording aid.

While the revolted barons were thus extending the rebellion on all sides, the Viscount de Terride, at the head of a body of French troops, entered Bèarn. The episcopal towns of Oloron and Lescar were speedily subdued, the troops burning and ravaging the houses of the Protestants, who were hung and shot without mercy. The cruelties to which those of the Reformed faith were exposed were most revolting. The small town of Bellocq, on the frontier, being almost exclusively Protestant, the whole population fled on the approach of

their enemies, only five Romanist inhabitants remaining, and an old infirm Protestant. This wretched individual was immolated, a victim to bigotry and disappointed vengeance. Orthez surrendered on the express stipulation of personal security to the Reformed. The promise was readily given and *religiously* kept by the Romanists, for in that sense they speedily ensured "a rest for the people of God."

Pau, the capital of Bèarn, being soon after subdued, the same atrocities attended the resumption of the Roman sway. An elm near the market-place is still shewn, where the Protestant preachers and officers were suspended, and from whence having hung sufficiently long in the sight of the people, their bodies were taken and cast into the adjacent river.

Terride being now in possession of the greater part of the queen of Navarre's dominions, issued a decree, in Easter 1569, for the restoration of the Romish worship. The images were set up in their "high places;" the monks took possession again of their dormitories, and the smoke of burnt herbs ascended in the churches instead of "the Christian's vital breath, the contrite sinner's voice."

In how short a time had the spoiler destroyed the fair scenery of our Christian queen. The sprouting herb, the branching tendrils were

withered—but the root was still in the dry ground.

Amidst all this devastation of her cherished land, and the added defeat of the French Huguenots at the battle of Jarnac, Jeanne preserved her hope and spirit. She harangued the vanquished troops of her party, who were dispirited by the death of the prince of Conde ; placed her son at their head ; wrote again to queen Elizabeth of England for assistance, which was again afforded, and despatched a letter to the Jurats of Navarre informing them that speedy succour would be sent. But the Jurats were now Romanists, and the letter, instead of being published to the country, was placed in the hands of Terride.

One town only, and that the principal place of strength, Navarrenx, remained faithful to the queen. It was indeed a city of refuge. Arros, and all the chiefs of the queen's party were assembled within its walls. The remains of the regular troops were its garrison, besides a crowd of fugitives whom the atrocities of the Romanists had driven from their homes. So strong was the bigotted feeling that actuated the conquerors, that even those of their faith who had assisted the Protestants, as mere employed workmen, in preparing the churches for the reformed worship, were subjected to persecution. Terride published

another *ordonnance*, entirely prohibiting the Reformed worship under pain of death ; all persons were enjoined to attend mass, and to bear crosses from their necks as signs of their faith. Death or apostacy being thus offered to the surviving Protestants, many fled to Navarrenx, in which place were now enclosed the remaining strength of the Protestants of Bèarn. This town, therefore, Terride determined to assail, and in the middle of April 1569, having assembled an army composed of six thousand Navarrese revolters under de Luxe, four thousand French under St. Colombe, two thousand Bearnoise foot, and twelve squadrons of cavalry under St. Salvi, his brother, he set forth for Navarrenx to offer up a final holocaust of heretics, and to complete his conquests.

CHAPTER V.

THE SIEGE OF NAVARRENX. THE COUNT DE MONTGOMERY. ROUT OF THE ROMANISTS.

NAVARRENX (or, according to modern orthography, Navarreins) is a small town nearly in the centre of the Department of the Lower Pyrennees; but, in those days, forming a barrier on the western frontier of Bèarn. It had been fortified, according to the science of the time, by Henry II. of Navarre, as a defence against the Spaniards; but, situated as it was, in a sandy district, on the banks of an unnavigable river (the Gave d'Oloron) it possessed no other advantages than its battlements. Within the narrow circuit of these were assembled the best of the chivalry of Navarre, and a crowd of refugees who had sought a shelter, and who, banded together in a common interest of defence, aided the slender garrison, of only four hundred men, in their military duties.

On the 27th of April, 1569, the viscount de

Terride appeared before the town and summoned it to surrender. M. de Bassillon was the Governor, a man deficient in judgment and military skill; but the queen's lieutenant, the baron d'Arros, assumed the direction of affairs, aided by the numerous leaders of the Protestant party who had joined him. The summons was indignantly repelled. Terride (who had, evidently, expected that the town would have speedily capitulated at the sight of the formidable array he had brought against it, especially considering the hopelessness of the cause and of aid for its maintenance) found it necessary to send to Orthez for artillery. In the mean time he surrounded the town with his troops, cut off its communication with the river, and effected a close blockade. But he did not trust solely to external effort; he had Romanist friends within the town, and these formed a plan for blowing up the magazine, and in the confusion admitting Terride. The trains were laid, and the whole design securely arranged for execution, but on the very eve of its accomplishment, two children who were playing about, discovered the train, and their artless wonder caused the plot, thus providentially, to come to the knowledge of the garrison. On the same day (2nd of May) to shew their spirit and indignation, the besieged made a successful sortie against the enemy. The next day M. de

Lons arrived, from the queen, with news that a force under the count de Montgomery, was assembling on the right bank of the Garonne for their succour.

On the 24th of May the long-expected and dreaded artillery was received by Terride. This boasted aid consisted of four cannon of the kind called "lombards" (or battering pieces of no great calibre) with which he commenced firing into the town at five hundred paces from the walls. At the first fire, the whole population of the town are said to have been seized with a panic; to have rushed out of the houses, as if an earthquake had occurred, and to have been, with difficulty, deterred from bursting the gates for flight. Happily Terride was either ignorant of or possibly alarmed at the commotion, and did not avail himself of the panic. The people of Navarrenx soon became habituated to the noisy engines,¹ which after all, it would appear, were little to be dreaded, probably from the inexpertness of those directing them; for it is recorded that during the seventy-seven days they were before the town, the cannon threw into it one thousand seven hundred and seventy shot, while the total loss of life, amongst

¹ It would seem from this panic (something like that of the South-Sea Islanders on first hearing a cannonade) and from other circumstances, that Navarrenx was unprovided with artillery.

the besieged, from casualties of war, was only thirty-four men.

On the 27th of May, Terride assaulted the town on the side of the bridge, in which failing, he attempted to burn the bridge, but was driven back, and the besieged regained possession of the river, from the loss of which they had suffered much. This success, and the cheering prospect of succour, raised the spirits of the pent-up Protestants, who, on the 29th, testified their feelings, by assembling together and reverently receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. During this solemn meeting, the enemy fiercely cannonaded the town, but their ears were now accustomed to the sound, and their hearts were firmer, being strengthened by the exercise of devotion.

The Romanist inhabitants were not idle, while their Protestant neighbours were devoting themselves to God. They were actively engaged in another plot to give up the town to Terride, but Providence again interposed and allowed it to be discovered in time for its prevention.

The next morning (the 30th) the besieged made another successful sortie, and also another a few days after, of which much booty, provisions, and a few prisoners were the result.

At that period the service of troops, or retainers in the field, was seldom other than expeditionary,

for some specified object or time. No commissariat existed, the maintenance of troops depending solely on themselves, and the opportunities afforded for supply. When, therefore, a body of men had, locust-like, exhausted the supplies of the district they were in, it became necessary to move to another.

Terride had now lost eight hundred men in combat; the remainder were daily deserting his standard; discontent was general, yet no one ventured to speak of abandoning the enterprise. At last Terride himself began to hesitate, especially as news arrived that a body of the queen's forces, formed by the coalition of several detached parties in Guienne, were advancing to relieve Navarrenx. The joy in the town was great, while those before the walls suspended the fight as if preparing to retreat. But the queen's forces, on arriving at Mont-de-Marsan, within a few days march of Navarrenx, were met by the French troops and defeated. The siege was again resumed with vigour by Terride, while the unhappy Protestants in Navarrenx lost all hope. Yet, notwithstanding this hopeless situation, and the extremity to which the town was reduced for want of provisions, a capitulation was not thought of. Every one knew the fate that awaited him if Terride, either by force or treaty, gained possession of the town.

But Providence had not forsaken the little band. Their expectation of succour had been disappointed, by the defeat of the Bearnaise corps, who had endeavoured to aid their brethren; but Montgomery, whom the queen had selected for the relief of her people, was still strengthening himself for that object.

Gabriel, Count de Montgomery, was the grandson of Robert Montgomery, a native of Scotland, who had emigrated to France at the beginning of the reign of Francis I. His son, James, acquired great distinction as a warrior, being mentioned by historians as M. de Lorge, the name of his estate, though he subsequently became Count de Montgomery. Gabriel de Lorge, Count de Montgomery, the eldest son of James, inherited the gallantry and spirit of his father. He was one of the most distinguished nobles of the court, being selected to head the auxiliaries sent by France to the assistance of Mary Stuart in Scotland. In the tournament held on the 30th of June 1559, on occasion of the marriages of the sister and daughter of Henry II. of France; Montgomery, who was forced into personal contest with the king, had the misfortune to inflict a wound, of which Henry died ten days after. In consequence of this unhappy accident, Montgomery quitted France, and travelled in Italy and England till

1562; when the civil wars respecting religion commenced. His mind had become seriously impressed with religious truth, and the gay courtier was now a devoted Protestant, in defence of which faith, he returned to France. The eminent services which he rendered to the Huguenot cause, induced the queen of Navarre, to select him for the important duty of saving her dominions, (now nearly entirely in the power of her enemies,) from total ruin.

Montgomery left the Huguenot camp at Chalus, in the Angoumois, with a small body of trusty followers. He had to pass through a tract of country guarded by the French king's forces. From Bordeaux to Thoulouse, the right bank of the Garonne was watched vigilantly by the enemy's posts; Monlucq commanding in the one city, Marshal d'Anville in the other. But Montgomery, by frequent manœuvres and counter-marches, between the two head-quarters, which he effected as well to deceive his enemies, as to favour the junction of his Protestant partizans, so completely confused the two generals, that he passed the Garonne without opposition; and in the beginning of August entered Bèarn with two thousand five hundred foot, and five hundred horse.

Terride had continued before the town of Navarrenx, having full confidence in the ability

of Monlucq and d'Anville, to repel Montgomery ; but the latter had arrived within a day's march of Navarrenx, before Terride was aware of his having passed the Garonne. A panic seized the Romanist camp, which was immediately broken up, and Terride retired in all haste to Orthez. When the people of Navarrenx looked over their walls on the morning of the 9th of August, ' behold there was no man there ! ' That day, the famished and worn-out garrison and inhabitants, who had been shut up for seventy-seven days, and subjected to hourly assaults and dangers, devoted to a public thanksgiving to the God who had thus mercifully served them, and in whom they trusted.

The troops of Montgomery were soon seen before Navarrenx, but they did not enter the town ; for the exhausted place had only gratitude to offer them, and the work of deliverance was only begun. Montgomery therefore moved on to Orthez, in pursuit of Terride, who yet found time in his retreat to devastate the country, and practise his usual atrocities. Amongst others he burnt the mansion of a Romanist gentleman, who, notwithstanding his creed, had adhered to the queen. The Sieur Vasson was ninety years old, and might well have been spared a declaration of partizanship, yet Terride's troops slew the old man and his only

daughter, and threw their bodies into the neighbouring river. But the career of the spoiler was near its termination. On the 13th of August, Montgomery arrived before Orthez. Having allowed his troops two hours rest, they were assembled for prayer, after which, at mid-day, he led them on the assault of the town. Troops so instigated, so strengthened, so led, could not be resisted. They mounted the walls, poured into the place with overwhelming ardour, and the unfortunate town of Orthez was subjected to all the horrors of an assault. A crowd of monks, priests, and refugees, besides the routed military, suffered on this occasion, from the exasperation of their opponents. Terride and his principal officers shut themselves up in the castle, but with such precipitation, that neither a sufficient garrison for its defence, nor ammunition or provisions were got together for its maintenance. Accordingly, on the 15th, Terride was compelled to capitulate. By the first article of this capitulation, all the Protestant ministers in Bearn were to be set at liberty, and have restitution of their goods which had been seized. By the second, Terride was to be exchanged for the brother of Montgomery, (a prisoner of Monlucq's,) or to pay eight hundred crowns ransom. By the third article, 'all the other chiefs and gentlemen, not excepting even

the Bearnois rebels,' were to be exchanged or ransomed. This article, subsequently gave rise to much discussion, as we shall presently, have occasion to notice.¹ The vigour and decision of Montgomery were eminently evinced on this occasion: for, on the very day of signing the capitulation, Monlucq had reached St. Sever, only ten miles from Orthez. The French general and his 'lackies,' retreated in haste, baffled from their expected prey. As to Terride, he died shortly after from disease, either produced or accelerated by vexation.

Montgomery was now joined by the liberated Protestants, (who crowded to his victorious banner,) and proceeded on his march for Pau, the capital of Bèarn. The Sieure de Peyre was the Governor of that town, appointed by Terride, who had also ejected all the Protestant members of the government, and substituted Romanists. Peyre had imprisoned the leading partizans of the queen and the ministers of Pau, Antoine Pourrat,

¹ As this Article has given rise to much controversy amongst historians, it is here given in the original. "3^o. Que les autres chefs et gentilshommes renfermés dans le chateau d'Orthez, tous, sans en excepter même les Bèarnais rebelles n'auront nul déplaisir, mais la vie sauvé: seulement ils resteront prisonniers de guerre jusqu'à leur entier échange avec les Protestants du même rang, qui se trouve, entre les mains des Catholiques, ou, à leur choix, jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient payé leur ransons."

Augier de Plantier and Pierre Viret. He received the news of Montgomery's entry into Bearn on the 12th of August in the evening while at supper, and excited, possibly, by the hilarity of the repast, as well as the intelligence he had received, he immediately ordered Pourrat and Plantier to be brought out of their dungeon and marched by beat of drum to the market-place, where, being followed by himself, as is affirmed by his *wife*, the unfortunate ministers were hurried into eternity, by being publicly hung. Viret only was saved, because Montlucq had ordered him to be kept in *safe* custody. A deed like this could only have been performed by a dastard. Having, subsequently, learned the intelligence of the capture of Orthez, and the advance of Montgomery on Pau, Peyre quitted the chateau of that place, early on the morning of the 19th, with his wife and family, and without any intimation, either to the garrison or functionaries of the town. It is said that the prisoners whom he had confined in the *oubliettes* of the chateau, (a high tower which stands close to the gateway,) seeing him, through their gratings, stealing off in this inglorious and selfish way, raised such shouts after him, that the town, which immediately encircles the castle, was roused to notice his disgraceful flight. He was shortly after surprised by the Protestants at Hagetmau,

(twenty miles from Pau,) where having concealed himself under a bridge, he was discovered and shot in his lurking-place.

Montgomery took quiet possession of Pau, where he was received with great rejoicing. His first proceeding, on entering the town, was to release the impatient tenants of the *oubliettes*, with whom, and a vast crowd of citizens, he immediately went to the adjoining church of St. Martin, where Pierre Viret gave public thanks to God, and afterwards an exposition of the 124th Psalm.

Eight of the principal revolvers taken at Orthez, suffered the penalty of the law. The Romanist historians maintain that they were treacherously murdered, not only contrary to the capitulation of Orthez, but, by being invited by Montgomery to an entertainment, where they were barbarously '*poignarded*' by his orders. One portion of the charge appears to be disproved by the very terms of its statement. The bold warrior, confident from conquest, surrounded by his victorious troops, and a concurrence of Protestant partisans, had no need to practice *treachery*, especially towards those *already in his power*. The open, honourable, and religious character of Montgomery, are opposed to the commission of so perfectly gratuitous a crime; nor can it be imagined, that an individual, who like him, bore the unhappy notoriety of having

innocently shed blood, (of which all but his own sensitive feeling acquitted him,) would so wantonly and unnecessarily have stained himself afresh, and with the hue of positive guilt. Was the bold and decisive Montgomery, the man to have invited the shackled and helpless revolvers against this faith and their allegiance, to an '*entertainment*.' The '*poignard*' also, let it be remarked, never was a *Protestant* weapon.¹

The second part of the charge requires more consideration. The terms of the third article of the capitulation of Orthez, (which we have given in a previous note,) *as it appears in the alleged original autograph*, which is still preserved, are remarkable. It is to be presumed that Montgomery drew up these terms, for Terride would not have used the word '*rebels*' as designating his own officers, nor was he in a situation to dictate terms. He is described as being totally defenceless, surrounded by Montgomery's troops, and ignorant of the operations of his friends. The fire that was laying the town in ashes, had, it is said, gained a wing of the castle, when Terride's bro-

¹ Montlucq mentions in his Memoirs, that the Protestants, (Noncombatants) to defend themselves against their Romanist oppressors, usually carried *heavy sticks*, called '*Johannots*.' Defoe tells us, the Protestants of his days carried what was termed a '*Protestant flail*,' a pliable stick loaded with lead.

ther, de Sevignac, a Protestant, serving with Montgomery, besought that general to spare his relative, and negotiated a surrender. Is it probable that Montgomery should have offered to save the thrice guilty revolvers, now completely in his power, and not only to spare their lives, but to declare that they should not even be molested? (*n' auront nul déplaisir?*) Catherine de Medicis is known to have destroyed some documents of that period, in order to compromise the character of her she most hated, Jeanne d'Albret; and *interpolation* of an existing document, or even its *forgery*, is not a more malign proceeding, morally considered. Is it not more accordant with the circumstances of the parties, and the usual phraseology of articles of surrender, to conjecture that the words *originally* ran thus:—'Que les autres chefs et gentilshommes, renfermés dans le Château d'Orthez, *exceptes les Bernais rebelles, &c.*' It is remarkable that the Romanist historian, Mathieu, states that one of the '*rebels*,' (St. Colombe, who had surrendered on this occasion, and suffered death at Pau,) was *excepted* from the terms of the capitulation. Now, the capitulation itself makes no mention of individual names; the conclusion therefore must be, that the rebels *generally* were *excepted*. To term those '*rebels*,' who were treated like '*chefs et gentilshommes*,'

and to receive '*nul déplaisir*,' appears in itself a contradiction.

The capitulation was broken by the Romanists, who slaughtered the Protestant ministers in violation of the first article. This is, undoubtedly, no justification of a reciprocal violation of it. But it may be doubted, whether those declaredly guilty of conspiracy and treason, previous to this rebellion, could be considered as comprised in an *honourable* surrender, and that under such doubt, arising on a violated compact, the course of civil justice, and the operation of a national law, might, from a species of severe necessity, have been justifiably suffered to proceed.

The Protestant historians acknowledge the execution of the Bèarnaise revolvers, but they deny the *mode*, and defend the *legality* of the act. It remains even a matter of doubt, whether the eight who suffered at Pau, were captured at the *assault* of the town of Orthez, or the *surrender* of the castle. The character of Montgomery, and of the cause he maintained, may readily lead to the conjecture, that as only *eight* suffered, while *hundreds* must have been captured, those eight were taken under circumstances which justified their execution.

The Romanist historians state that this alleged 'atrocitv' took place on St. Bartholomew's day,

(August 24,) of the year 1569, and that the demoniac destruction, which for ever blackened the memory of the day, in 1572, was but a just reprisal for this deed. Mark the gradation of Romanist sympathy, and the scale by which it regulates social regard: *thirty thousand* Protestant lives were sacrificed as 'a *just retribution*' for those of *eight* rebels of the Romish faith. The assertion violates both divine precept and human feeling.

Montgomery had now leisure to turn his attention to the religious interests of those whom he had delivered from a thralldom of the worst kind. A synod was assembled, which re-enacted the establishment of the Protestant worship. The monasteries which had sprung up in the interval of Romish sway, were again dissolved, and the churches cleared of their demi-pagan accessories. These changes were quietly effected, for Montlucq and D'Anville could not agree upon the mode of reconquering Bèarn, and wasted, in private dissensions, the time they should have employed in public effort. The union of the Protestant body, in consequence of their recent success, presented too formidable an opposition to the discomfited generals.

But the domestic enemies of the Protestant faith were still in activity. The province of Bigorre, on the eastern frontier of Bèarn, (which to this day is noted for superstitious bigotry,) became

a refuge for the Romish party. They established themselves in the town of Tarbes, (only twenty-five miles from Pau,) and prepared for a fresh onset. But Montgomery, with his usual promptitude, marched his troops to Tarbes on the 1st of September, and entering it after some ineffectual opposition, which led to the pillage of the town, immediately proceeded to the re-establishment of the Reformed worship. The monks and chapters of the Romish church, who had, during Terride's sway, resumed the occupation of the convents and cathedrals, were, it must be acknowledged, with stern severity, driven from their posts. Most of the convents were burnt by the troops, but chiefly by the partizan corps, who, spreading over the country, and being actuated by the resentment of their personal and local injuries, were not sparing in the mode and measure of retribution. Many instances of cruelty towards the Romish ecclesiastics, are unhappily recorded. Those who refused to quit their stations, were summarily sacrificed to the impatient spirit of these roving restorers of reform. One instance of the tenacious determination of the priests is remarkable. The monks of the Augustine convent at Orthez, calmly waited the approach of Montgomery's troops, who, however far from maltreating them, were gratified by the reception given them.

The prior, Jean Simon, was, it was conceived, disposed to embrace the Reformed faith, and possibly, thus led to the forbearance shown to his brethren. A day was appointed for the public profession of the new faith by the imagined proselyte. A great crowd filled the church to hear Father Simon. He entered the pulpit and addressed the excited congregation, but instead of a recantation of errors, he launched forth into the most violent denunciation of the Reformed doctrines. The tide of feeling which had at first been so greatly in his favour, reacted with force against him. An infuriated trooper shot him in the midst of his harangue.

This total repression of Romanist sway in ecclesiastical matters, was only carrying into effect the decree of the synod of Lescar, assembled by Montgomery. The celebration of mass was forbidden, under severe penalties. None but reformed ministers could baptize or preach, and these ministers were directed to make missionary excursions throughout the country, to perform the necessary functions of spiritual office.

During the operations of Montgomery, in traversing Bèarn, and restoring the Protestant institutions, Montlucq, though unable to prevent that proceeding, had not been idle. The town of Mont-de-Marson, in the Landes, on the north

western frontier, was assailed by him, and it detained him before it a considerable time. Montgomery had not force sufficient to retain his conquest, and assist Mont-de-Marson; while to march to that distant point, would have left Bèarn exposed to the attacks of Marshall d'Anville. Under these circumstances, M. Favas, who held the town for the queen of Navarre, found it hopeless to continue its defence, and therefore, proposed to capitulate. Montlucq assented; a conference was appointed, but in that moment of fancied security, he ordered his soldiers to assault the town, and spare no one. He was faithfully obeyed.

The arms of the Huguenots in France had not been so successful as those of their brethren in Navarre. The loss of the battle of Moncontour, at this time, forced the former to fall back on the southern provinces, where their party was strongest, and Montgomery was required to join the principal army on the banks of the Dordogne. He accordingly marched at the head of his victorious troops, pursuing his route with the same unvaried success. He quitted Navarre on the 15th of October, having in less than ten weeks, re-conquered the whole kingdom of lower Navarre, and re-established the authority and institutions of its legitimate sovereign. Montlucq, his principal

opponent, (himself one of the most skilful and daring generals of that time,) expresses his admiration at the bold and well-planned manœuvres of Montgomery. When he heard that the count had passed the Garonne, in the face of every precautionary defence, he would not credit the information; but being assured of the fact, he hints that the Protestants were aided by the prince of darkness, and that he, devoutly, ‘ thrice made the sign of the cross ! ’

As we are now taking leave of Montgomery, whose exploits were performed at a distance from the scene to which our notices chiefly refer, it may be satisfactory to give a summary detail of his future course.

The effectual aid, afforded by his skill and efforts, to the Protestant cause, excited the anger of his most Christian majesty. The Parliament of Paris condemned him to death, *par contumace*, soon after his leaving Bèarn, and he was executed in effigy. The peace of St. Germain, (22nd of August, 1570), by which these civil feuds were for a while composed, procured his indemnity. He was at Paris in 1572, on the fatal 24th of August, the day of the massacre of St. Barthomew's. It may readily be conceived, that the count de Montgomery was marked out as a special victim, but it pleased God then to save

him. He escaped on horseback, riding, as is recorded, thirty leagues at a stretch, and having been pursued during a third of that distance; a prodigious effort, but it was an effort for life. He reached the island of Jersey, and subsequently England; where he married the daughter of an English naval officer. In 1573, he fitted out and commanded a small fleet of private-armed ships, which sailed from an English port, for the relief of Rochelle; the civil war having again broke out. But in this expedition he failed, and was compelled to return to England. His martial spirit and devotion to the cause of the Reformers, led him again to join the Huguenot standard, and he was entrusted with the government and defence of Domfront in Normandy. Being besieged in this fortress in 1574 by Massillon, a general of the guise faction, he was compelled to surrender, and was carried a prisoner to Paris. The queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, bore an implacable hatred to Montgomery, not only on account of his religion and services, but from his having been the unfortunate instrument of the death of her husband, Henry II. She accordingly revived the sentence against him pronounced by the Parliament of Paris, three years previous, and he was executed, by her order, on the 25th of June, 1574.

There is great similarity between the lives and

characters of the two nearly contemporary heroes of those times, Sir Walter Raleigh, and count de Montgomery. The spirit, as it were, of the same soil is discernible in both ; the same daring splendour of achievement ; the same confident reliance on self-resource ; the same devotion to the same cause during life ; and the same peculiarity of circumstances attending their death.

CHAPTER VI.

TOTAL ABOLITION OF ROMANISM IN BEARN. DEATH OF JEANNE D'ALBRET.

THE Baron d'Arros and M. Montamat, were left in charge of the civil and military government of Navarre by Montgomery, they having held the same offices previous to the entry of the viscount de Terride. The name and power of Montgomery had hitherto kept the country in subjection, but now the restless spirits raised their heads again. De Luxe, the conspirator against the queen's person, and the first who raised the standard of revolt, had been driven to take shelter in the fastnesses of the Pyrennees. He now re-appeared, and, having privately given notice of his design, a number of small parties converging secretly towards the town of Tarbes, took possession of and established themselves in that place. Montamat, however, who had profited by the skilful teaching of Montgomery, lost no time in advancing against

the revolters ; and, having unexpectedly stormed the town in the night time, put the crowd of de Luxe's followers to the sword. De Luxe, himself, with his usual good fortune, escaped. This timely defeat kept down the risings that had been projected throughout Bèarn, and the country, happily, again enjoyed a season of repose.

A silent conformity to the new order of things now prevailed, and the government of the queen took measures for the settlement of ecclesiastical order, and the establishment of religious union. On the 28th of November, 1569, an ordonance was published, of which the following is the chief portion.

‘ A considerable period has elapsed since the blessing of heaven has been shed on Bèarn, by permitting the reformed doctrines to be preached, in order to dissipate the long established errors which had overspread religion, and from which the people have been delivered by the operation of that grace which had conducted the queen herself to the knowledge of the truth. Her majesty's tender love for her subjects, towards whom she has the bowels of a mother [*les entrailles de mere*] joined to the voice of her conscience, having made it her duty to communicate to them this happy knowledge, she fulfilled that obligation through the aid of the ministers whom she had invited to her do-

minions, and by whose labours the work of God has prospered, so that their hearers have renounced the idolatry that enslaved them, for the extirpating which the queen exerted her sovereign authority. The progress of these doctrines amongst her subjects, induced the queen to grant liberty of conscience, equally extending it to those who professed what they call *catholicism*, which, however, being founded only on human opinion, must be a false religion. But instead of acknowledging this gracious proceeding, many of her subjects, some openly, others in secret, conspired and raised revolts, seized on the towns, abolished the true faith, murdered its ministers, re-established the Roman worship, administered the government in the name of another prince, suppressed her authority, and wounded her honour in many ways. It was necessary to repress these injuries, and punish their authors in justice to her faithful subjects. It was her duty to deprive those, whose religion led them to abolish that which she professed, of the liberty they abused. But, in this, she had overstepped no law. Those who violated conventions and solemn obligations renounced the operation of them on themselves. It was not proper longer to delay conforming to the command of God, who would be worshipped according to the faith delivered by the Prophets

and Apostles, which the Romish faith was not. The country could not be left without religion; divine wisdom had turned the designs of wicked men against themselves, and made them serve for the establishment of the true faith. They must be deprived of a liberty they knew not how to use. And seeing that the divine law orders princes to lead their people in the ways of truth, which can alone be done by the encouragement of the true preaching of the gospel, and the repression of those who corrupt the doctrines of salvation, the governors of the kingdom, acting in the name and under the authority of the queen, decree—

‘ 1. The queen, desiring that the word shall be announced only by those, who, being called by God, have a legitimate vocation, her majesty, for that purpose, annuls, repeals, banishes, and proscribes all exercise of the Roman religion, without any exception; such as masses, vespers, processions, litanies, vigils, feasts, painted or carved images, luminaries, offerings, and, especially those usually made at funerals, as customary in the Romish church.

‘ 2. [Orders the removal of all altars and altar-pieces from churches.]

‘ 3. All the inhabitants of the country, of whatsoever rank, are enjoined to attend the preachings, instructions and prayers offered by the ministers

of the gospel according to the word of God, her majesty desiring that the inhabitants of all places, wherein such worship is established, shall duly attend at each service, and those who are distant, at least every Sunday; and the jurats of every district are required to enforce the execution of this order, each one observing the conduct of those under them, and making a faithful report of those who refuse obedience.

‘ 4. [Subjects the inhabitants of each district to the control of its consistory, which is empowered to summon individuals to account for their conduct, and to reprimand and correct.]

‘ 5. Seeing that the reformed church recognizes baptism as being one of the sacraments established for receiving the signs of the remission of sins, whence it imposes on parents the duty of presenting their children to the church to be baptized, yet, as a great many persons refuse to perform this duty, pretending to fulfil it by administering that sacrament themselves, the queen interdicts all parents, god-fathers, &c. from baptizing, under such penalties as she shall further decree.

‘ 6. [Recognizes the validity of Romish baptism, performed while that worship was permitted, but ordains that those who have been baptized by Romish priests, subsequent to the prohibition of

that worship, shall be re-baptized by the reformed pastors, under penalty of punishment as rebels.]

‘ 7. [Prohibits the re-baptizing by Romish priests.]

‘ 8. It is forbidden to announce or publish the days of the papal festivals, and thus to keep people in superstition and idleness, against the law of God which prohibits both; for which reason it is enjoined on all to work six days of the week, and to inform against those who do contrary.

‘ 9. Marriage, not being such, unless sanctioned by the benediction of the church, all persons are required to give public notice of their intended union, that it may be ratified and blessed in the face of the reformed church, on pain of subjection to the laws against concubinage.

‘ 10. The priests, monks, and other ecclesiastics of the Romish church, are forbidden to remain in the country except by licence of the queen; but all who fear God and respect the orders of government, will be so licensed.

‘ 11. The effects of proper education being of the greatest importance, none will be permitted to act as a schoolmaster, unless of the reformed religion; and every one who would act in such capacity, must be examined by a minister, who will judge of his ability and other qualifications for the due performance of his functions.

‘ 12. All matters and business of justice shall cease on the Sabbath day, unless in cases of necessity: the shops and public houses shall be closed during the time of divine service, at which all persons ought to attend. All sports, usually lawful, are interdicted during the same period.

‘ 13. [The first part regulates the period of preaching at other times than on the Sabbath.] There shall be a cessation from labour during the preaching, and not at other times, in order that superstition may not be revived by the observance of days.

‘ 14. [Regulation of interments of the dead.]

‘ 15. And as, by the instigation of the evil spirit, many have withdrawn from the church after having embraced its doctrines, and others have been cut off from it on account of their improper conduct, without either of these parties having manifested a desire to return; it is hereby ordered that both those who have been excommunicated by the church, as well as those who have voluntarily separated from it, shall be chastized and punished by the magistracy, as scandalous livers, rebels, and disturbers of the church, if, during the space of a year, they shall not return to their duty and give signs of repentance.

‘ 16. [Regulates payment of tythes and church dues.]

‘ Lastly. In order that no one may have opportunities of wasting time in evil ways, all illegal games, dances, masquerades, impure songs, and such like disorderly proceedings are hereby prohibited.’

This proclamation, there is reason to believe, was drawn up by Armand Guillaume Barbaste, formerly a Carmelite monk, who had embraced the reformed faith, and was one of the ministers of Lescar. He had been deputed by the synod, which met early in October of this year (1569), to attend the queen of Navarre at Rochelle, ~~in order~~ to obtain her sanction for the ~~proceedings~~ of that body. It is an ordinance sufficiently determinate in its enactments, except in the 12th article, which is at variance with the third. The word of God, which is professed to be the guide and ground work of this religious legislation, allows no abatement of the sanctity of the Sabbath. He “ who dwelleth in a temple not made with hands,” has not restricted the period of holy rest to the opening and shutting of a house of prayer.

Nearly one hundred and fifty Romish ecclesiastics are said to have conformed to the terms of the tenth article of this code. The number of the clergy and monks of that communion, at that time in Bearn, were computed at two thousand. The greater portion of these sought refuge in the

neighbouring countries of France and Spain, waiting their turn of invasion :

‘ As when a prowling wolf
Watches where shepherds pen their flocks at eve ;
Or like a cormorant, devising death
To those who lived.’

The opportunity was soon afforded. The court of France, bigotedly hostile to the reformed faith, readily listened to the appeals of the refugees for aid, and ordered Montlucq to assemble a force for the reconquest of Bèarn. That general lost no time in drawing the fugitives from that country round him at Nogaro. The towns of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Thoulouse, were ordered to send him all their field artillery, and his brother, the bishop of Valence (who had retroceded from the Protestant to the Romish church) supplied him with funds for the destruction of his former brethren.

The veteran rebel, the count de Luxe, was again in motion, and joined Montlucq at Acqs in Languedoc, with a body of Romanist refugees. At the head of these forces, in June 1570, Montlucq advanced into the queen's dominions and laid siege to Rabastens, a fortified town, about forty-five miles to the west of Pau. The governors of the kingdom, d'Arros and Montamat, were taken by surprise, and immediately despatched orders to the

different leaders of their party to assemble for the defence of their country and religion. These despatches were intercepted, and thus the enemy had time for the due development of his plans.

After five days' prosecution of the siege of Rabastens, Montlucq ordered an assault. He exhorted his soldiers to remember that the enemies of their faith, heretics condemned already, were opposed to them; that they must revenge the injuries their brethren had suffered, and spare no one. Leading his men on to execute these savage orders, Montlucq received a severe, and, as it subsequently proved, a mortal wound. But he had strength and resolution enough to urge his troops to the onset, stimulating them still more to avenge his personal disaster. They rushed to the walls, overpowered the garrison, and commenced their work of butchery. Out of the whole garrison and population of Rabastens, only *four* individuals escaped with life, two of these being Romanists. The authorities of the town, with the ministers and members of the consistory, had sought shelter in a high tower overlooking the ramparts. Montlucq's men forced these, to the number of fifty, to leap from its height, by which they were either crushed by the fall, or drowned in the fosses.

While Montlucq was occupied before Rabastens,

Bonasse, a Bearnoise partizan at the head of another corps, surprised Tarbes. But Montamat had now assembled a competent force for taking the field, and marched to Tarbes, which is twenty five miles from Pau, the seat of government. Having brought up his artillery, he soon effected a breach, and the unfortunate town was, for the third time, subjected to the horrors of an assault. Bonasse, and many other of the rebel chiefs, amongst the rest the Abbè de Sauvelade, were killed, together with nearly the whole garrison. Montamat pursued his victorious career in repressing attempted risings in other parts of the country, until the intelligence of negotiations having commenced between the king of France and the queen, calmed the excitement of both parties. Peace was signed at St. Germain on the 22nd of August, 1570; a *peace* which was only a disguised *war*, and, during whose nominal continuance, more Protestant lives were sacrificed than actual conflict would probably have destroyed.

The queen of Navarre, who had, hitherto, remained at Rochelle to aid with her energy and talent, the Huguenot cause in France, upon the success of which depended the maintenance of her own institutions, now returned in triumph to her own dominions. Her first and most anxious endeavour was the perfect settlement and clear

position of religious matters. An exterior conformity to her views was not the sole object of this pious princess. Her tender solicitude for the best interests of her subjects, required that "a right spirit should be put within them." The synod of Rochelle had been consulted by the queen respecting the drawing up an exposition of the reformed faith, a work which had been previously performed, in 1559, by the general assembly of the French Protestant church, but had been since modified to meet the peculiar state of the times. This declaration of doctrine, together with the mode of its ministration, was embodied in a decree published by the queen soon after her return to Bèarn. It is entitled '*Ordonnances ecclesiastiques de Jeanne, par le grace de Dieu, reine de Navarre, sur le retablissement du royaume de Jesus Christ en son pays souverain de Bèarn.*'

This paper is an enlarged and more definite copy of the proclamation published in the queen's name, on the 25th of November previously. The preamble states it to be both the right and the duty of sovereigns, to attend to the welfare of the souls, as well as the persons and properties of their subjects: 'and that duty consists, not only in their leading their people to the sources of truth, but in excluding all error, falsehood, and superstition, and in sustaining a well-regu-

lated system of morals, which would be relaxed or destroyed if not founded on, and supported by, the power of religion and the purity of worship.'

The number of parishes in Bèarn was four hundred and fifty. In each of these, a minister was to be resident, having previously been examined and licensed by the consistory or synod, and having taken an oath before a magistrate, to adhere to the confession of faith adopted by the reformed Church, and to obey the civil authority of the realm. No one was to be allowed to preach without this previous proceeding, under pain of banishment. All persons were commanded to attend divine service, under penalty of five sous for the poor, and ten sous for the rich, for the first offence; five livres penalty for the poor, and ten for the rich, for the second failure; and of imprisonment for the third. Those who absented themselves from the Lord's Supper, after due remonstrance, were to suffer exile for two years. The sabbath-day was commanded 'to be sanctified by Christian works, and the suspension of all employ, either servile or vicious;' meaning, of course, sports and public festivities.

The government of the Church was entrusted to an ecclesiastical council, consisting of two laymen, ('*deux gentilshommes*,') two ministers, two of the queen's ordinary council, two of the cham-

bers of accounts, two deacons, two inspectors, ('*surveillants*,') and two jurats of the principal towns. These were to be chosen by the national synod annually. The synod itself, composed of delegates from the body of the clergy, and in which the queen or her deputy presided, met at least once a year. Besides the election of the ecclesiastical council, it was empowered to decide all cases of spiritual delinquency, or clerical differences. The duties of the council were those of patrons of benefices, and guardians and receivers of the revenues of the Church. The rents of bishop's lands, or those of the suppressed monastic institutions, prebendaries, canonries, and ecclesiastical dues in general, were received by the *diacre-general*, and accounted for to the council, who regulated the payment for the support of the parochial clergy, public schools, widows, orphans, strangers, or casual poor, and also for the settlement, by portion, of young women, principally the children or widows of those connected with the Church.

Besides these two principal ecclesiastical bodies, there were consistories and conferences. (*Colloques*.) The latter being committees or branches of the first, consisting of *surveillants* or inspectors, who reported breaches of discipline or doctrine to the main body. The ministers or pastors

were chosen by the parishioners of each place, the ecclesiastical council, or, in the case of private right, the patron, naming two candidates to the consistory or conference, who appointed the time of election by the people of the vacant benefice, having previously examined and testified as to the qualifications of the parties. The ministers were paid by the council, not by the parishioners, and were excluded from all civil jurisdiction or employ.

Many regulations follow for the setting the poor to work, or maintaining those willing but unable to perform it; for the education of poor children, 'that they might be brought up in the fear of God, and, if they possess talent, or a peculiar turn for any particular employ, that they should be further instructed in letters, or such particular pursuit;' ¹ and also for the repression of all public disorder.

The Romanist faction had still strength and daring enough to oppose the execution of this ordinance. They saw that its enforcement would be the death blow of their party; and they endeavoured to excite public feeling against the enactment, by declaring that it was opposed to the rights and liberties of the people. But Jeanne d'Albret was not of a character to allow her

¹ It may be noticed, *en passant*, that the want of this discrimination and selection is a great blemish in the educational system of England.

judgment or her conscience to be set aside or quieted by opposition of any kind; and by her firm and steady perseverance, the estates of her kingdom at last were induced to acquiesce and register her decree. It was published on the 15th of January, 1572.

At this period, negotiations for an union between Henry, prince of Navarre, and Marguerite de Valois, sister of Charles IXth of France, were in course of discussion. The queen of Navarre, notwithstanding the difference of religion, seemed to be attracted by the hope of terminating the hostile influence of the French court, and of drawing into real affinity, the ties of family. The house of Valois were her nearest kindred, and another *Marguerite* was to sit on the Navarre throne; both agreeable inductions to the feeling heart of Jeanne d'Albret. Alas! she little imagined that this union would be but an ursine embrace; that she was only drawn nearer, to be crushed more completely!

Soon after the publication of the '*Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques*,' the queen of Navarre set off for Blois, where the French court then was, and where her son, prince Henry, had preceded her. The court subsequently removed to Paris, and thither the queen followed. Gaillart, bishop of Chartres, who had embraced the reformed doc-

trine, though he remained in alliance with the Romish church, had invited the queen to his palace, and thither her majesty proceeded, happy, doubtless, in being welcomed by a Christian brother. But the hand of death was upon her, ready to bear her away to "a better country." She arrived at Paris on the 4th of June 1572; on the 9th she was a corpse. The Protestant historians of Bèarn, (Olhagaray and D'Aubigne,) aver that the queen was *poisoned*, and, significantly remarks, that it occurred at an entertainment at which the duke of Anjou, (afterwards Henry III. of France) was present. But though there is no *moral* reason to doubt this dark imputation on the duke's character, yet the *physical* appearances after death do not bear out the assertion. The *proces-verbal*, on the opening of the queen's body, states that an abscess was discovered on the left side, which accounted for her decease. Claude, bishop of Oloron, (in Bèarn,) who left a manuscript journal of the events of the time, states that the queen died of pleurisy, occasioned by the hurry of her journey. This appears very probable, or at least, that the excitement of her situation might have hastened the mortal tendency of her constitutional disorder. But the Romanist historians, (at least one of them, the Abbè Poëydevant,) aver that this morbid excitement was occasioned by the

intemperate anger of the queen, on being forced to hang out tapestry from the windows of her hotel, on the day of the procession of the *Fête Dieu*. This is at least a characteristic assertion.

Jeanne d'Albret, when she found the end of her days was approaching, drew round her the most spiritual ministers of her creed, deriving much consolation from the fervent prayers of these righteous men. Her faith was stedfast, and calmly expectant of the promises she believed. The disposition of her worldly affairs was also attended to with the same rectitude and judgment which she had evinced through life. She directed her remains to be interred, without pomp or vain ceremony, in the same tomb with her late father, Henry II. of Navarre.¹ She left her son Henry the crown of Navarre, requesting the king of France, the queen mother, the dukes of Anjou and Alençon, to take him under their protection, and allow him the free exercise of his religion. Surely Jeanne d'Albret must have remembered that the "friendship of the world is enmity with God." But she died a few weeks before St. Bartholomew's day, 1572.

Jeanne earnestly implored her son in her last will, (a document, which, if sculptured on the

¹ This was not done. Henry of Navarre was buried at Lescar, Jeanne d'Albret at Vendome.

tomb of Henry the Fourth, would be a sufficient illustration of his character,) to cultivate piety, and to regulate his conduct according to the doctrines in which he had been brought up; not to allow himself to be drawn away by the illusions of the world, by its pleasures or vices, falsely attractive; to watch with carefulness the execution of the ordinances she had published in Bèarn, not to suffer them to be changed or relaxed; to drive from his dwelling evil counsellors, flatterers, libertines, and irreligious men, and to draw around him people of character, pious and Christian persons; to be a tender guardian of his sister Catherine, (the only remaining offspring of the queen, born in 1558,) taking care that she should be educated in the reformed faith, and that she should be married only to a prince of the same communion. To *every one* of these earnest appeals of a pious and tender parent, Henry of Navarre acted in direct opposition.

. Jeanne d'Albret, who was born on the 7th of January, 1528, was consequently in her forty-fifth year when she died. She had reigned seventeen years in Navarre, during the last ten, as the sole administratrix of the government. One ruling principle seemed to actuate her conduct both in public and private life, the advancement of scriptural religion; it was her duty, her desire, her object in every political or municipal mea-

sure. To this her acute mind was bent, and her feeling heart inclined, her accomplishments (and she was skilled in all the knowledge of that day,) were but handmaids to her piety, and enabled her to act with readiness and effect, even when unsupported by those in whom she had trusted. Dandaux, her first minister, proved faithless to her and her cause; Grammont, the hereditary friend of her family, deserted her in her need, and remained in a selfish neutrality. Miossens, the husband of Susanne de Bourbon, her son's early guardian, plotted against her life. But Jeanne d'Albret trusted in one that never forsaketh. How rarely have thrones been filled with such a ruler. The "powers that be are" undoubtedly "ordained of God;" but though *thus* his *servants*, it is lamentably true, that few have been his *followers*. Nor is it a consequence, as some appear to imagine, that being "*ordained*," sovereigns are necessarily *sanctified*. "Thus saith the Lord to his *anointed*, to Cyrus: I have surnamed thee, I have girded thee, *though thou hast not known my name*." ¹

But "blessed is she that believeth, for there shall be a performance of those things that were told her of the Lord." ²

¹ Isaiah xlv. 45.

² Luke i. 45.

CHAPTER VII.

HENRY THE THIRD OF NAVARRE, AND FOURTH OF FRANCE. THE PRINCESS CATHERINE OF NAVARRE.

ON the 18th of August, 1572, **Henry**, the young king of Navarre was united in marriage to **Marguerite de Valois**, the French king's sister. It is an appalling incident in the history of the human heart, that at the time of this union, Charles the Ninth had doomed his brother-in-law to death. That atrocious crime, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, took place only six days after the sacred ceremony; a holy offering to bigotry, only exceeded by the wholesale slaughter of Protestants by the Irish Romanists in 1640.

It is not within the scope of these local notices, to detail the history of this event at Paris. The influence its consequences had upon the kingdom of Navarre, were soon discernible.

The king of Navarre had been saved from

intended destruction by the intervention of his bride, but he lost his liberty of person and conscience. He had not resolution sufficient to withstand the importunities used to draw him over to Romanism, of which he not only made profession, but wrote to the pope on his conversion. Still further, in the face of his own regal duties, and the entreaty of her whom he had just committed to the tomb, he, within four months after that event, signed an ordinance for the abrogation of Protestantism in Navarre, and for the restitution of Romanism as it had previously existed. The execution of this decree was committed to the Count de Grammont, and, as it would appear, without any reservation or softening clause or circumstance which might intimate that it emanated not from voluntary feeling, but from coercion. The violation of a parental command, and the sacrifice of the cause of God, and the best interests of his people, as the price of personal safety, are not deeds which evince the two principal attributes of greatness, firmness of mind, and rectitude of purpose.

The cries of the victims of St. Bartholomew's soon reached the ears of the Bearnoise people; crowds of miserable fugitives flocked to that yet Protestant asylum. The reins of government were in the hands of persons of that faith, and

instant precautions were taken to prevent treachery and aggression from the Romish party. The leading members of the church were banished, but no reprisal of a severe nature was inflicted on them; and the frontier towns were garrisoned and placed under the command of faithful adherents.

In this state of anxious solicitude the people of Bèarn remained, till on the 16th of October, a proclamation was received from the king of Navarre, ordering the resumption of the Romish worship, the banishment of the Protestant clergy, and the restitution to honour, office, and estate, of all who had been dispossessed by the late queen. This unexpected blow roused a spirit of indignation, not the less lively, because self-preservation was at stake. The estates of the kingdom and the synod, or general assembly of the church, were immediately convoked. A day of fasting and prayer was appointed, for imploring the guidance and assistance which they felt to be so necessary. The king of Navarre had written a letter to the estates, urging them to the quiet adoption of the new measure, but this unhappy evidence of voluntary direction, was passed over with a mournful silence. It was unanimously voted, that as the king was a prisoner at Paris, it was necessary to provide for the government and defence of the country.

While proceedings were in progress for the preservation of the kingdom from external and internal attempts, the Count de Grammont, who had been appointed by Henry to the government of Navarre, arrived on the frontier, from whence he despatched a letter '*to the rebels of Bèarn,*' cautioning the Protestants, that the steps they were taking, would only draw down punishment on them. The baron d'Arros still remained in the post which the late queen had entrusted him with. His father, a man in his eightieth year, blind and infirm, except in spirit and purpose, was present when the letter of Grammont was read to the assembled council, and urging the immediate marching of a force to intercept the count, drew his sword, and presented the handle to his son, desired him to take that to Grammont, and use it for him. The appeal was not fruitless. Grammont was attended only by a party of Romanist exiles, who were now returning full of hope and exultation, and had arrived at the castle of Hagetman, where he was to pass the night. The baron d'Arros lost no time, but at the head of thirty-eight gentlemen of his party, rode off to Hagetman, surprised the unwary band whom he slew or put to flight, and rushing to the chamber of Grammont, would have put him to death but for the entreaties of the count's daughter-in-law. Gram-

mont was carried a prisoner to Pau, and the expectations of the Romanists were foiled. Arros, who had the chief direction of affairs, entered into an armed confederacy with the Protestant towns on the French frontier, for the negotiation of which, a meeting of deputies took place at Nismes early in 1573. . Strengthened by mutual support, the Protestants of the south of France and of Bèarn enjoyed for a time a tranquil existence.

By the death of Charles the Ninth in 1574, the duke of Anjou ascended the throne of France, under the title of Henry the Third. On his accession, as a mark of grace, the king of Navarre obtained his liberty, and to cement more firmly the friendship of the two kings, they received the Eucharist at Lyons on the 1st of November 1574. The estates of Bèarn sent a deputation to their sovereign, testifying their satisfaction and fidelity, and offering donations to himself and sister. In the mean time they passed resolutions and laws for the security of their religious institutions. But the king of Navarre, though emancipated from his supposed thralldom, evinced no disposition to second the object of the estates in this respect. The baron d'Arros, when Henry recovered his liberty, waited on him at Lyons, and tendered his resignation as governor of the kingdom. Henry willingly accepted the offer of the Protestant

champion, and appointed in his room one of the Romanist revolvers against his mother's authority, the bason de Miossens.

The first act of the new viceroy was to dissolve the Ecclesiastical Council, appointed by the late queen, Jeanne d'Albret, appropriating to himself their duties and authority. The Protestant clergy, who foresaw, in this primary measure, their own ultimate overthrow, petitioned the Estates of the kingdom on the subject of this change. The Estates addressed Miossens in favour of the continuance of the council, but he refused their request. On the other hand the Romanists sent a deputation to the king soliciting the extension, or rather the re-establishment of those privileges, which they then only possessed by sufferance. They were favourably received by the king, and liberty of open worship granted to them.

These concessions to the Romish party, and the committal of power to the hands of one of that faith, was the more remarkable, since the king of Navarre, (having quitted the French court and joined the Huguenot forces under the duke d'Alençon,) had professedly returned to the Protestant church. But his courtiers were principally Romanists, to whom, whether from policy or inclination, he listened more readily in council than to his Protestant advisers. Even a deputa-

tion from the Estates, who waited on the king to oppose the relaxation of the laws against the open profession of Romanism, returned unsuccessful from their mission. No further attempt, however, was made to violate the existing state of things, and the Protestants continued, while civil war was raging in France and on their frontier, to enjoy the exercise of their religion without other disturbance than anxiety.

It was not until the end of the year 1578 that the king of Navarre paid his first visit to his dominions as a sovereign. He was accompanied by his queen, a bigoted Romanist, the daughter of Catherine de Medicis. The announcement of the approach of a member of that persecuting family, which had perpetrated the massacre of St. Bartholomew during the bridal festivities of their king, seems to have excited universal consternation amongst the Protestant people of Bèarn. Singular as it may appear when the ordinary feeling of subjects who greet a new sovereign is considered, the synod, which was then in session, immediately ordered a national fast. The subsequent treatment of the queen does not appear to have been more flattering. The chapel of the Chateau de Pau had been prepared for the performance of the Romish worship for the queen's use. On Easter

day, 1579, the Romanists of Pau, desirous of attending the solemnity on the occasion, crowded to the chapel, notwithstanding it had been forbidden ; but the soldiers on guard, without respect to the place or the person of the queen, drove them out and imprisoned several. It is true that the king resented this proceeding, but the queen being incensed at the feeling of dislike which her religion engendered, suddenly quitted Pau for Nerac, declaring that she would never re-enter Bèarn till Protestantism was abolished. The generality of this adverse disposition to the queen and her opinions, as well as the firm stand made by the Estates of the kingdom against the restoration of Romanism, plainly show that the doctrines of the Reformers were widely and strongly established. Those just recovered from disease usually evince a more than ordinary precaution against its contagion. But can any man who feels the glow of health and the vigour of pure vital action within him, see unmoved, the plague-spotted victim or the cadaverous leper approach him ? Another proof of the earnest and general impression which the Reformed doctrines had made in Bèarn, was the missionary spirit of its people. The Navarrese traders to Spain are described by the Romanist historians, as carrying with them across the Pyrennees, a ' dogmatical spirit,' which caused the

Inquisition to send its familiars to the frontier to form a sanitary cordon.

The civil war in France requiring the personal efforts of the king of Navarre, the regency of that kingdom was entrusted to his sister Catherine. This princess, now in her twenty-fourth year, was a devout and conscientious Protestant, of mild and amiable manners, but without the firmness of character which so remarkably distinguished her mother, Jeanne d'Albret. The placing the government of Bèarn in her hands, was a boon to the Reformers which they thankfully acknowledged; and, though all questions of moment were referred to the king's own decision, yet, as his political interests led him into more decided opposition to the Romanist party in France, he acquiesced in most of the measures that were proposed to him, favourable to the Protestant party in Bèarn. A popular rumour, or *prophecy* as it was called, was current amongst the Huguenots, at this time, that the papal power would be put down by a Protestant prince who should become the chief of the Christian union. A Piedmontoise astrologer of the 'Francis Moore' order, named Jacques Brochart, was the author of this 'prophecy,' which seems to have obtained credence at the court of Henry of Navarre. The gay and easy-tempered monarch (whose religious opinions, like his mantle, were put

off or on according as the thermometer of his fortunes rose or fell) was flattered into a stauncher profession of Protestantism, and despatched one of his councillors of state, Segur, on a mission to the reformed princes of Germany, in order to negotiate an alliance. Segur executed his mission in so indiscreet and vain-glorious a manner, that he was imprisoned by the Emperor, and gave occasion to many political pleasantries against the apostolic ambition of the libertine monarch.

It was, possibly, from a knowledge of the character of Henry, that the king of France, on hearing of the failure of Segur's mission, despatched one himself to the king of Navarre to endeavour to regain his alliance. The Duke d'Epernon was deputed on this occasion, and was received at Pau by the king of Navarre with much distinction. The duke's chief effort was to detach the king from Protestantism. Henry so far gave way, as to allow a conference to be held, in his presence, for the discussion of the merits of the two modes of faith. Maret, a pastor of the Reformed church sustained his tenets with ability and success. On being pressed as to the political expediency of the king's return to Romanism, and being asked whether it was a wise thing to prefer the psalms of Marot ¹ to the crown of France,

¹ Clement Marot translated the Psalms of David.

Maret replied that the king might carry the psalms in his hand while the crown was on his head, and that the surest mode of obtaining that crown was to punish the murderers of St. Bartholomew's, to grant freedom of conscience, employ the tithes in the maintenance of the true church of Christ, and thus to ensure that "peace which passeth understanding."

This missionary effort of the French king took place during a short truce which had been agreed upon by the gasping combatants in these civil contests. It is said that the royal catechumen would have assented to the wishes of the courtly missionary, but for the persuasion of his chancellor, Arnaud Ferrier, who pointed out the impolicy of doing so at that juncture.

These peaceful contests, however, soon gave way to the clamour of war. The French king, who was associated with the duke of Guise and the league, took up arms to oppose his expected convert, and issued severe edicts against the Protestants of his dominions. The king of Navarre, on the other hand, prepared to meet his opponents; and as the war was of a decidedly religious character, he published a manifesto declarative of his opinions, which were, probably, considered of too neutral a kind to gain favour with either party. In this manifesto, issued in 1585, Henry declared that

he was neither a heretic or apostate. Could he be a heretic who believed in the Old and New Testament and the Apostle's creed? Could he be an apostate, who had never abandoned the opinions in which he was educated? If he was in error, he desired to learn the truth from a council lawfully assembled, having, as yet, acquired no light sufficient to discover it. He was desirous of affording the 'Catholics' the peaceful exercise of their faith, which he had always respected.

This profession of faith called forth a bull of excommunication from Rome against Henry, depriving him, by its sentence, of his dominions, and absolving his subjects from their oaths of allegiance. At the same time the king of France issued an edict condemning all the Protestants in his territories to banishment and confiscation of goods, if they did not conform to **Romanism** within six months. In answer to these fulminations against himself and party, the king of Navarre ordered the authorities of his kingdom to treat the Romanists in their jurisdiction in the way that the French monarch should do the Protestants in his. The king of France not only adhered to his decree, but increased its severity, for two months before the period allowed for conformity, he limited the time to fifteen days. The king of Navarre was equally rigid, and thus a reciprocal ejection

of their subjects took place; the Protestants of France, flying to Navarre, the Romanists of Navarre to France. Much individual misery was caused by these proceedings, while the general strength of each party was increased, both in number and hostility of feeling.

To sustain the war, the estates of Bearn, and a convocation of ministers of the church, held at Navarrenx, voted a subsidy to the king; the latter body coming forward, for the first time, with a voluntary taxation. But the burdens, which these perpetual contests inflicted on the people, had, evidently, abated their zeal, for a vote of 18,000 crowns having been moved by the nobility, the burgesses in the estates refused to concur in a larger grant than fifteen thousand. It is observable, also, that the king having endeavoured to raise a loan on a mortgage of the revenues of his dominions for forty years, the estates declared such to be contrary to the privileges and liberties of the country, and passed a resolution prohibiting such anticipatory measures of finance. Had this wholesome restriction of limiting the efforts of nations to the level of their immediate resources, been similarly observed by other states, much strife and bloodshed might have been avoided in subsequent ages. In a good cause, there is generally found sufficient energy to support it, and the necessity

of contemporaneous effort will excite that energy if it be deficient. This was evinced by Bèarn at that time ; the prudent economy of the burgesses of that state, called forth greater exertion on the part of the nobility and clergy, and many individuals came forward with a liberal zeal. Funds were also raised by private contribution for the succour of places and persons who had suffered through their own exertions, or the operations of the war ; and throughout the country, voluntary offers of military service were general.

Bèarn, however, was happily exempted from the actual evils of war, the contest being carried on in the heart of France. But the more rigorous enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline, consequent upon the religious excitement of this period, seems to have given rise to some domestic discord. The payment of tithes was resisted by some, when claimed by *lay* proprietors, and the question, as to its enforcement, divided the estates so equally, that the Princess Regent decided the point herself, by issuing an edict in aid of its collection. The consistories, in the performance of their duties, excited, also, some discontent. A female, who was charged with using *rouge*, was publicly censured, and appears to have gained a party of lax religionists in her support, at Pau, the court residence. Yet deep and well-grounded senti-

ments of religion pervaded the Bèarnoise community, and were evinced in love to the faithful brethren, as well as in rigour to the weak or straying. Geneva was at this time threatened by the king of Sardinia, and Theodore Beza had written to the churches of Bèarn, through Lambert Daneau, professor of theology at Orthez, in favour of the 'mother of the pure faith and asylum of the saints.' Daneau (who had recently finished a commentary on St. Matthew, which the estates ordered to be translated into the vulgar tongue, and printed at the public expence) was a popular preacher, and stirred up his brethren in the ministry to plead the cause of the Genevese, which was done so effectually, that, notwithstanding the impoverished and burthened state of Bèarn, aid both of men and money were sent to Switzerland.

The death of Henry III. of France, in 1589, made room, on the throne of that kingdom, for Henry of Navarre. But the steps to that throne were as yet barricaded by the Romish league, which opposed its occupation by a heretic. Henry, to conciliate his opponents, published a declaration of his intention to respect the Roman faith in France, and to permit its worship in Bearn. This declaration was neither satisfactory to friend or foe; the Romanists had not pre-eminence, the

Protestants had not security. Bèarn, however, continued for two years longer in comparative quietude. One event alone disturbed its peace.

The Princess Catherine of Navarre, the regent of that kingdom, though a devoted Protestant, was strongly attached to a Romanist nobleman, the count de Soissons. The count was attached to the king of Navarre's party, and, as is alleged, had in view, by an union with the princess, to establish a claim to the crown of France, both from his marital right and his religion, which, if Henry was passed by, would, he conceived, ingratiate him with the French people. A correspondence was kept up between the princess and the count, through the countess of Grammont, a forsaken mistress of the Navarre monarch, and a clandestine marriage was determined on. To effect this, the count speeded to Pau, while Henry was engaged in the north of France. But Henry had good intelligence and faithful friends. Paugeas, the president of the council of Navarre, on the night of count's arrival, surrounded the Chateau de Pau, and producing an order from the king, obliged the disappointed lover instantly to quit the kingdom. The princess, also, was subjected to temporary restraint; but, when again at liberty, shame and vexation would not allow her to remain in a public station where so humiliating a noto-

riety attached to her. She accordingly determined to resign the regency of Navarre, and join her brother at Saumur; and quitted Pau to the great regret of the people, in the month of October, 1592.¹

¹ Catherine d'Albret subsequently married a Romanist prince, the duke of Lorraine and Bar, the 15th of January, 1599. It is pitiable to read her letters to her brother, Henry IV. describing the persecution she suffered from the Lorraine family, to induce her to change her religion. To these appeals, written in sisterly affection, tempered by conjugal regard, Henry, who knew not the nature of an awakened sense of religion, answered coldly. The pope for some time resisted the grant of a dispensation, even after the marriage. It at last arrived—*on the day of her death*—which, there is little doubt, occurred through *poison*. Catherine, when pressed to turn Romanist, answered, 'Were there no other reason, I could never belong to a religion, which would teach me to believe that my mother was damned.' She died, February 13, 1604.

CHAPTER VIII.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF ROMANISM. EDICT OF FONTAINEBLEAU.

THE meridian height of religious prosperity had been attained in Béarn. The shadows were now lengthening and betokening the fading of that light which had shone upon her. The princess Catherine was succeeded in the government of Navarre by a zealous Protestant, Jacques de Caumont, marquis de Laforce; but though thus internally favored, yet the clamour of war was now approaching from without. The marshal de Villars, one of the commanders of the league, was secretly invited by the Romanists of Tarbes, to take possession of that town. He accordingly marched into the province of Bisonsorre (of which Tarbes is the capital) with a large force, and was admitted by the stratagem of his friends within. He then fell upon Pontacq, which, after a short siege, he entered and gave up to fire and sword.

Advancing to Pau, he summoned that place to surrender, but was vigorously repelled, and finding opposition gathering round him, he found it necessary to retreat, devastating the country in his course.

This incursion had been excited by the Navarrese Romanists. A few short months after, an event happened which gave additional force to their attempts. Henry, now king of France by inheritance, found his nominal profession of Protestantism was a bar to his quiet settlement on the throne of that kingdom. After a short parade of hesitation, and a few flirting interviews with the disputants of Rome, the king declared himself of that communion on the 25th of July, 1593.

To those acquainted with the character of the gay, worldly-minded monarch, this event could not have been unexpected; but on the people of Bèarn, generally, the intelligence came with an astounding effect. It is said that the synod, on learning the perversion of their native sovereign, directed that the public prayers, usually made for their prince, should be discontinued. This can scarcely be true in the terms in which it is stated. It is impossible that the reformed, or indeed any other Christian church, would have departed from so fundamental a duty, as that of praying for those whom God had set over them. The style of prayer

must, of course, have been altered; but that, doubtless, was all that was done on this occasion.

Amongst other edicts relative to religion, issued by Henry IV. -on this occasion, it was ordered that the Roman worship should be restored in all places whence it had been driven by the conflicts of war. The kingdom of Navarre had excluded that worship from its soil by the legislative sanction of its queen, Jeanne d'Albret, and the concurrence of the estates, long previous to the war alluded to. The marquis de Laforce, therefore, the governor of that state, took no measures to introduce, or sanction the Romish worship. The inhabitants of the valley of Barretons (a district a few miles to the south-west of Oloron) amongst whom were many of that faith, petitioned the estates of Bearn to admit the exercise of its worship amongst them, conformably, as they alleged, to the above-cited edict. The estates debated long and violently respecting the *admission* of this petition, for, as yet, no one could be found *openly* to advocate the object the petition prayed for. The result of this debate was, that the petition should be laid before the governor for his decision. That decision was adverse to the petitioners, but the marquis was summoned to Paris to answer for his judgment, which the king reversed.

An alliance with Rome was concluded by the French court, by the terms of which the Roman religion was to be re-established in Navarre, its bishoprics restored, and conventual institutions refounded. This was not effected by a sudden change, for Henry was too well acquainted with his native country, and possibly, too considerative of its manifest wishes, to force these measures upon them. He began by bringing influence to bear upon individuals, thus undermining the supports of party. Sponde, a Protestant minister, son of the secretary of Jeanne d'Albret, was induced to turn Romanist, and was made bishop of Pamiers. Those reformed ministers who were most zealous in the maintenance of their creed, were distressed and harassed by the withholding of their stipends, which, as it will be recollected, were now payable by the crown, and not as originally, by an ecclesiastical council elected annually by the synod. Many were thus driven to seek subsistence, at a distance from their benefices, with relatives and friends. On every occasion of involvement between the two creeds, the Romanists presumed on the known tendency of the court. The decisions of consistories were first questioned and opposed, and then became scorned and powerless. Neglect of religious ordinances became observant; superstitious usages of former days

were revived; reprehension of them raised party feuds, and on all these occasions, the Romanists readily allied themselves to the *soi-disant* persecuted offender.¹

In this state the kingdom remained till the edict of Nantes in 1598. This celebrated decree, which regulated the condition of the French Protestants, did not affect those of Navarre. The latter state claimed a separate legislation, and its peculiar privileges. The edict also, as it referred to a class of religionists who dissented from the established faith of the nation at large, could not apply to Bèarn, where Protestantism was, by sovereign decree, the only recognized religion. The estates despatched a deputation on the subject to the king, which, according to his orders, was composed of two Protestants and two Romanists. It may readily be conceived that such a deputation, under the circumstances of the time, could only tend to advance the Romish interests.

In April 1599, a decree was signed at Fontainebleau by the king of France and Navarre, for the re-establishment of the 'Catholic' religion in the latter kingdom. This paper was drawn up under the king's inspection, by the chancellor of Navarre, Pomponne de Bellievre. The preamble

¹ The present state of Ireland will probably occur to the reader.

declares the desire of his majesty to see all his subjects united in one mode of worship, since a concert of prayer, resulting from that harmony, would draw down more powerfully the benediction of heaven on the king and his people. His majesty, however, wishing to unite those divided in opinion and by schism, announces that he is about to banish all constraint and all subject of jealousy, by granting to every one a requisite liberty of conscience, and exercise of worship, and by dispensing, *as far as circumstances will allow*, an equal treatment to the professors of the two creeds. But, waiting till it shall please God to grant his wishes, in drawing all his subjects to the belief and practice of the same faith, his majesty decrees, ‘ that all Catholics dwelling in Bèarn, shall have liberty to profess their religion, freely and publicly, in all places where it may be re-established: that lay-patrons of benefices of the Catholic faith, may present persons of that communion for filling the same, and performing the sacred functions according the rites of the Catholic church, *notwithstanding any presentations which they may have already made, and which are declared null and void by this present decree*: that also in all places where the *curès* shall be presentable by lay patrons, two shall be chosen in each, in order there to re-establish the same religious

exercises : that the grants of benefices made during the late troubles, shall not cause any obstruction to the rights of the said patrons, who shall be replaced in the enjoyment of the same : that in those places in which Catholicism shall be re-established, the cemeteries shall be given up to its ministers : that the bishops and curés, and all other ecclesiastics, approved by the ordinaries of the district, shall be empowered without disturbance, to assist the sick, to celebrate the holy sacrifice, and exercise all other functions of their ministry, both in the houses of Catholics, *and also in all other places where their worship is not publicly celebrated* : that the bishops shall be restored to the possession of houses which had belonged to them before the seizure, (*saissie*), *as well as to their entire temporal and spiritual jurisdiction* : that they shall be entitled to take out of the tithes of their dioceses, the produce requisite to furnish three thousand crowns for the bishop of Lescar, and eighteen hundred for the bishop of Oloron : that all Catholics inhabiting the country, shall be admitted to all sort of public duty and employ, without being subject to any exclusion on account of their religion : that it shall not be permitted to any person of either religion, to insult or provoke by injuries, or by means of disputes *or religious controversies*, which should be banished as opposed

to the Holy Spirit: and that to such end, the ministers of either worship, who should fulfil the duty of preaching, should not be suffered to use any expression capable of exciting animosity, or wounding mutual charity between citizens, and so disturbing that peace which is the common benefit both of religion and the state.'

Although the Navarrese had expected ever since the accession of their king to the throne of France, that a measure of this kind would be inflicted on them, yet the expectation appears to have had the effect of a menace, and rather to have excited a spirit of resistance than of acquiescence. Thirty years had elapsed since Protestantism had been the only recognized religion of the country, a period sufficient for its educational growth in two generations, and which, aided by the exertions of able ministers and the influence of favouring governors, had imbued the higher orders with congenial sentiments, and the lower with feelings of respect, for the doctrines and worship of the reformers. The reception of this decree, therefore, (which it could not be doubted, from the character of him who framed it, and of those who were its objects, was but the forerunner of aggression, if not a virtual abrogation of the privileges hitherto enjoyed,) caused an universal excitement in Bèarn. Most of the members of

the council of state, of the leading families of the kingdom, as well as the chief amongst the clergy, assembled and addressed the marquis de Laforce, (who was still governor of Navarre,) expressing their alarm at the terms of the edict, and the danger they apprehended from its execution. The synod met and agreed on a memorial to the king. The estates were convened to consider the decree, since, by the constitution of the country, no edict of the sovereign was valid without their sanction. No direct opposition was offered by that assembly, but they, having first passed a resolution that the interests of the country were in danger, proceeded to debate on the financial part of the edict, by which tithes and other ecclesiastical property was re-appropriated, and diverted from the then current use. It was resolved, that these funds had by a former law and by long usage, been devoted to the maintenance of the Protestant clergy, and that no substitution was provided for them by the edict. This significant resolution, added to the remonstrances of the council and synod, drew from the king a modifying or rather explanatory decree soon after, and which was accompanied by a letter from his majesty to the council of state, in which he detailed the motives that had led him to issue the edict of Fontainebleau, and urged those which ought to induce obedience. This sup-

plementary decree defined the places where the Romanists were to be restricted from intruding, viz., towns and parishes in which the Protestants had erected churches, and in which there was a minister paid by the state. But several exceptions were appended, in which, notwithstanding this prohibition, Romanist worship might be introduced; and these were made in favour of several of the court party who possessed property or influence in the excepted places. To compensate the Protestants for the loss of their cemeteries, part of the public domains were to be granted to them for that purpose. Funeral ceremonies, processions of the host, &c. amongst the Romanists, in places where their worship was not re-established, were to be conducted without ostentation and parade. The spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops was particularly defined, and their temporal power was restricted to the seignories of their immediate residence.

This concession on the part of the king, had a soothing effect on his loyal people. The estates despatched two of their body, the baron de Navailles, a Romanist, and M. Colombe, a Protestant, to Paris; to thank their sovereign, and to endeavour to efface the impressions of disobedience, which their representations might have made. They were likewise instructed to pray his majesty,

not to place in public employ, any individuals *whose characters were suspected*; a singular application, undoubtedly, but sufficiently understood by all parties, as alluding to those adverse to the Protestant institutions of the country. The object more immediately referred to, was the appointment of M. Dupont to be advocate general, and president of the exchequer-chamber of Bèarn; that person, (though a Protestant,) being married to a zealous Romanist, who had rendered herself remarkable by many displays of contumely and opposition to Protestant regulations. The deputation proceeded to Paris, where, in a short time, Henry succeeded in persuading the Protestant member, Colombe, to conform to Romanism.

The estates of Navarre perceiving that opposition to the admission of the Romanists would be fruitless, took the opportunity of the truce of discussion with the king, to attend to the settlement of their Protestant institutions, and fortify them, as it were, against the approaching attack. The churches were ordered to be placed in thorough repair. The syndics, whose office it was to make circuits through the country once every year, to watch over the public institutions and remedy grievances, were ordered in future, to proceed on these missions thrice annually; that is, every four months. Every precaution was taken to rectify

and strengthen the religious institutions, while yet there was power in the hands of those favourable to them. Having thus prepared for the storm, they passed the edict of Fontainebleau, and submitted to the will of God and their sovereign.

Notwithstanding the acquiescence of the estates, the execution of the edict, on the part of the governor and council, was delayed on various pretexts. It was suggested that a period should be named for the presentation to benefices by lay, Romanist patrons. Explanations were required as to the disposal of the Protestant schools in such benefices. Difficulties were started respecting the surrender of cemeteries; since the Protestants gave up not only the prospect of interment for themselves in places habitually revered, but also the remains of their fathers, from whose family tombs they were to be excluded. It was, also, strongly urged by the Protestant ministers, that the indefinite description of '*tous autres ecclésiastiques*,' in the allowance accorded of visiting the sick, &c. in places where there was no public Romish worship, might allow the Jesuits an entrance, and they expressly protested against their admission. In the nomination of magistrates, the council further prayed, that the number of Romanists should not exceed that of Protestants, and that the curés and priests on admission,

should be required to take an oath before the governor, to respect the laws and institutions of the country. One of the councillors of state was despatched by that body, to lay these several representations and remonstrances before the king. That monarch, to deprive the Navarrese of all pretext for further delay, acceded to the alterations required: the scholars were to be provided for; the Jesuits were to be excluded; the cemeteries were to be common to the two religions; in short all was conceded, but, at the same time, peremptory orders were given for the immediate execution of the edict.

On the 18th of August 1599, the two bishops of Bèarn, (Abbadie, bishop of Lescar, and Maytie, bishop of Oloron; the latter the son of that Maytie who had caused the death of Roussel the Protestant bishop of the same see,) entered the kingdom, and performed the first mass in the church of Corlaas; a seignory of the baron de Miossens, a bigotted Romanist, and who had been concerned in the conspiracy against the late queen, Jeanne d'Albret. Commissioners had been appointed by the governor to attend the bishops, and to watch the due execution of the new law. It appears that, in several towns, these commissioners were the only persons who formed a congregation at the new worship. But in the country parts, the 'old religion' had

many latent worshippers, who now came forth. It would seem, however, that the bishops were not much encouraged by the reception they met with ; for shortly after taking possession of their sees, they both quitted Bèarn for Chamberry, in Savoy, where the king of France and Navarre then was. Their object was, as is acknowledged by the historians of their party, to obtain from the king additional powers to overcome the resistance they met with. They did not meet with a very favourable reception ; and, therefore, instead of taking Protestantism by assault, they were compelled to proceed by the more usual mode of mining, and the lengthened process of siege. They were more successful with their priestly brethren in France, who raised a sum of money, by which the Bèarnoise bishops were enabled to send missionaries into Navarre, to expedite its subjugation. The only aid the king afforded them, was empowering them to resume possession of their alienated temporalities, on repayment of the price given to those who acquired a title by purchase, during the period of Protestant rule. These temporalities had been sold in difficult times, and under peculiar circumstances, which caused them to be purchased at very low rates, and considerably under their value. But the resumption, after so long a possession, was considered unjust by the

possessors, and the council of state joined in that opinion. The king, however, ratified the power conferred on the bishops. The parties threatened with dispossession, petitioned the estates of the realm. The estates concurred with the council of state, and the question came again before the king, who contrived to temporize without coming to an immediate decision. Encouraged by the apparent success of remonstrance on this occasion, the synod drew up a statement of grievances, and despatched two of their body, Brasselay and Disserote, to lay it before their sovereign. These grievances not only embodied that just alluded to, but others, such as the violation of the edict of Fontainebleau by the intrusion of the Jesuits, by placing Romanist teachers in the parish schools, and by the non-observance by the priests, of the localities to which they had been restricted. A particular grievance of the latter kind, which excited the Protestant community, was that the bishop of Oloron had established the mass, in a parish of which the patron and minister were of the reformed faith, notwithstanding their remonstrances. All these acts of aggression took place within five months of the re-establishment of the Romish worship. The Navarrese council had interposed its *arrets*, but the king, by the advice of the French priesthood, nullified the judgments

of the council, and left the complaints of the synod unsatisfied, except with vague promises.

The two religions were now in the field, ranged, as it were, against each other. The Protestants had the country on their side, and the authorities (the local authorities) were members of their own body. The Romanists were supported by the royal power and a consciousness that if they acted with common prudence, they would obtain its fullest assistance. Thus circumstanced, although the graver and better order of both parties refrained from any openly aggressive act, yet collisions frequently occurred, and kept alive a discordancy which effectually prevented that *union* which the king vainly, and, it may be added, ignorantly expected. The synod of Gap, in Provence, (to which the Bèarnoise church sent deputies,) had declared, in a public document, that the pope was antichrist. This the king ordered to be expunged from the acts of the synod. In Bèarn the zealous newly-arrived priests proclaimed from their pulpits that no one could be saved out of the "Catholic" church. This the council of state at Pau took up, and reprimanded the assertors of the *anti-union* dogma. The superstitious and almost pagan observance of days, especially of *May-day* (a floral fête which might be rendered one of sublime interest, particularly in the delicious climate of

Bèarn), was reintroduced by those of the Roman faith, and caused great offence to their reformed neighbours. The reprobation they met with from the latter, and the attempts made to put them down, caused disputes which ultimately came before the royal seat of judgment, by which these observances were not only sustained, but a sort of "Book of Sports" published, in the shape of new edicts. The shelter which the *confessional* afforded to criminal or invidious designs, became also a subject of reprobation, and led in several instances to open rupture. The Romanists complained likewise of not being admitted to an equality of office with the Protestants, pursuant to the new laws. This the king at first vainly endeavoured to obviate, since as the greater number of municipal offices and the representatives to the estates, were elected by the people, who, especially in the towns, were generally Protestants, they could not be *compelled* to elect those of the Roman party. To remedy this alleged evil, the king decreed that the election of more than half the number of Jurats, &c. of the same communion should be invalid. But here again arose fresh sources of discussion. One of the Protestant Jurats of the town of Lescar was converted to the Roman faith. The Bèarnoise council of state directed that his post should be considered vacant and another

Protestant Jurat be elected. This was violently opposed by the Romanists, who, as usual, appealed to the king, and an edict shortly came forth decreeing, that 'if any person, while in office, should forsake the pretended reformed faith, the original election should still remain valid.'

Such were some of the many discordances arising from the attempt to join light and darkness. Would a chemist endeavour to unite dissimilar substances, except for the purpose of neutralization or combustion? But *union* was not the object of those who professed this endeavour to unite. A vantage ground was required, and the approach to obtain it could only be acquired by holding out the *white flag*, and advancing under its peaceable professions. The result will soon appear.

CHAPTER IX.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION. DEATH OF HENRY IV.

SIX years had elapsed since Romanism had been re-established in Navarre. During that period the Protestants had been kept in a continued state of anxious watchfulness for the preservation of their institutions. The college of Orthez was that at which the students for the ministry were educated. This fountain-head was now attempted to be closed. The professors were diminished, the salaries of all lowered, and the students deprived of their resources and limited to the number of thirty. The library of the college was closed, as affording too easy an access to the 'poison' of Protestant reasoning. At the same time the king directed that wherever there was a Protestant church, a Romanist place of worship should likewise be opened. This was a direct violation of the edict of Fontainebleau, but it was favouring the '*equality*' of the two religions.

Amongst other grievances against which the Protestants in vain appealed, was the violation of the Sabbath-day and of the appointed fasts, by the Romanists. During the uninterrupted reign of reform, these periods of worship and solemnity were duly revered; the shops were shut and public business suspended. Even for some time subsequent, the laws and customs of the country in this respect were enforced on all. But the Romanists now began to resist, and obtained a royal order for their exemption from the observance required.

By these means the priests were enabled to establish themselves in many places from which they had been long excluded. But the number of the Roman clergy was yet small. To remedy this deficiency, the pope (Paul V.) at the request, as is affirmed, of the French court, despatched a body of missionaries from Italy to convert the yet lingering Bèarnoise. These missionaries were, Zacharie Colombe, (whom it may be remembered, had been the Protestant deputy from the Navarrese estates, and who was now a monk of the Barnabite order at Milan,) Maurice Olgiatti, and another monk Louis Bitorte. Colombe was a native of Bèarn, and though his family were of the reformed faith, yet he had become a violent bigot to that which he now professed. These three

brethren arrived in Bearn in July 1606. Their arrival had been held forth to the people, as a mission from heaven, and every means employed to give it effect. The bishops and clergy met them on the frontier and led them onward to the field of exertion with triumphal display. The place selected for their first effort was a small country town, about eight leagues from the frontier and nearly as many from Pau. This place, Luc, which had then about two thousand inhabitants, was in the centre of a Romanist district, and within a short distance of Corlaas, where the first mass had been performed in 1599, but the parish church was still in the possession of the Protestants. Colombe has described the scene of his first effort in this place, in a letter which he addressed to Cavalchini, the General of the Barnabites. 'At our arrival in Bèarn,' says he, 'the Catholic church appeared to us like a feeble patient, who had lost nearly all his blood, through the murderous attack of robbers, and who, covered with wounds, appears in a state, in which he sometimes sinks under his sufferings, that are rendered worse by the pestiferous odours he is compelled to breathe, and sometimes a little revived, raises himself up and gives hope of a happy recovery. All the monasteries and religious houses, all places consecrated to piety, have been pulled down and destroyed; given up to

flames, they only present heaps of ashes and ruins. Two monks of the order of St. Francis, who had escaped from the sword of the persecutor which immolated so many victims of their order, and who survived till this time, were the only remains in this country. One was concealed at Jurançon,¹ the other at Oloron. Two Jesuits had preached at the former place the preceding year, with the permission of the council of state, who, however, forbade them to confess. They had, however, left the province, since the governor and all in authority, rooted in Calvinism, made themselves merry with mimicking their discourses, gesture, and accent, watching, at the same time, if any phrase, offensive to the ears of heresy, escaped them, being resolved, in such cases, to punish them.' After thus describing the abasement of Romanism, the missionary proceeds to describe his own triumphs. He mentions his arrival at Luc, where, as no place sufficiently large could be procured for worship, the bishop of Oloron had an altar erected, under a pavilion formed of the branches of trees, and placed in an extensive meadow. A day was appointed for the consecration of this rustic temple, and notice given to all the country round. 'The bishop, dressed in his pontifical robes, and

¹ A suburb of the town of Pau, the capital of Bèarn.

followed by the priests and laymen of his church, commenced a procession from the town. One part of those who attended the preaching of the minister of Luc followed the procession. The others, astonished at this novel spectacle, stood wondering and indecisive, and at last joined with the throng, while the chief people of their party, stood at the windows of their houses, full of hate and rage, vomiting forth a thousand blasphemies.'

The bishop performed his part. 'After the *credo*,' continues Colombe, 'I stood on a platform, and the people sat down on the herbage of the meadow, with their heads uncovered, and exposed to the glowing rays of the sun. I took for the subject of my discourse, the erection of this rustic altar. I recalled to my hearers the golden age of Christianity. I set before their eyes the absurdity of a heresy which assumes the name of *reform*. I dare not, said I to them, to draw your attention, compare myself to St. Paul in the glory of his apostleship; but I can say to you that I have a juster title than he had to be called the least of the apostles; that I have persecuted the church of God, in calumniating her doctrines with the deceitful allegations of the new sect, in which I had been brought up, as you have been, and from the dark abyss of which I have been drawn by the vivifying influence of that light which dispels the darkness

of men. This same light I am bringing to shine upon you. It is from the voice of that visible authority which is vouchsafed us here below,¹ and unites knowledge with power, that I have received this mission, and that I am come, without taking counsel either of flesh or blood, to restore you to the Christian faith, which has been so disfigured by the systems of unbelief. I then, in few words, opened to the people the rules and fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith. I made them feel the dreadful yoke they were under, and the barbarity and impiety of their new masters, who had overturned their altars, destroyed their monasteries, broken their images, and profaned the churches and the tombs of their ancestors. I shewed them to what profane purposes the stones of their church and ancient abbey had been applied, how their parish church had been changed into a temple, where the holy God to whom it was consecrated, was accused by Calvin, their leader, of being the author of sin and of the damnation of sinners. I recalled to their memory the many injuries and outrages to which, for the last forty years, they had been victims, and the ruinous imposts which they had been forced to pay to this tyrannical sect. I carried them back to its origin.

¹ The Pope.

I led them to observe how it had been born and nursed in France, and yet had infected Bearn more than any other province. Trust not, I cried to them, trust not in these innovators; they are false prophets who clothe themselves in sheepskin in order more easily to devour the souls of the faithful. Heresy, I added, like a torrent ravages your cities, your fields, your families and property; but this torrent becomes less and less, like a brook which hardly flows, and will change at last into a lifeless lake, where its stagnant waters repose in slimy impurity. The Catholic church is a vessel which may indeed be tossed by the tempest, but which can never be wrecked. She has the warranty of the word of Jesus Christ. The ancient heresies have verified the promise, and those of our days are already beginning to afford a new proof. This is the moment of your liberty. Render God thanks for it; cleanse yourselves internally in the sight of this altar which has been consecrated before your eyes; purify your souls by confession; wash yourselves in the waters of penitence; return with sincerity to the faith, and walk in the path of salvation which is opened to you.'

Such was the style of address which a Protestant apostate, sanctioned by the pope's bull and the king's commission, ventured to deliver. The note of war was plainly sounded and the banner of

enlistment boldly raised. Was this the Utopian unity that Henry IV. desired to effect?

The three missionaries had divided the country between them, and proceeded with a triumphant air, throughout the land, under the protection of the king's mandate. As might have been expected and, probably desired, the great excitement of their progress occasioned various commotions. At Lescar the procession of the *Fete Dieu* was broken and dispersed, the bishop of that see being compelled to fly from the town. Several other similar scenes of violence occurred, and such was the universal commotion that the estates which had met, as usual, in the month of August, remained sitting in permanence. They despatched deputies to the king at Paris to represent the state of the country, and the encroachments daily making on their privileges and institutions, praying that the measures latterly adopted by the crown respecting religion might be stayed.¹

The reply to these representations and requests was sufficiently declarative of the arbitrary and anti-protestant designs of the court. The estates were forbidden to discuss matters of religion, nor was any one to be allowed to petition that body on

¹ It is remarkable that one of these deputies was the Syndic Colombe, a Protestant, and brother of the Romish missionary of that name.

any point connected with it. All causes, arising from or depending upon, religious differences, were, in future, to be carried on at the expence of the parties, and not of the public or state, *unless his majesty should think fit to direct otherwise*. It was also enjoined in the estates and synod, that in the future, no deputation should be sent to the king, without permission previously obtained from his majesty; and that the request preferred for sending such deputation, should express clearly and fully the objects for which it was sent. The obvious purpose (certainly the effect) of these regulations and prohibitions, was to prevent redress by stifling complaint, and, to induce a kind of resigned indifference amongst the Protestants, to the advance of popery, by the conscious hopelessness of their condition.

The advanced guard of missionaries was soon followed by a more regular body. The Jesuits had been recalled to France in 1604 by Henry, and now, in 1607, they were permitted to re-enter Bèarn, contrary to the express stipulation of the edict of Fontainebleau. In vain were protestations made at these successive encroachments; they only hurried on measures for silencing opposition.

The synod of Bèarn endeavoured to stem the torrent pouring in upon them. The restriction of

the number of students for the reformed church, to *thirty*, when above *four hundred* parishes had to be supplied with ministers, and the diminution, as well as uncertain payment, of their salaries, had caused a dearth of labourers in the vineyard. This obliged the synod to concentrate their efforts, by uniting several parishes into one, while at the same time, they endeavoured to raise funds for avoiding this weakening of their lines. The ministers of their church were interdicted from entering into public disputations with the Roman priests, without previous permission of the synod. All members of the reformed communion were called upon to refrain from attending the masses and sermons of the Romish priests; to prevent their children from attending schools opened by the latter, and not to be misled, through a false liberality, into aiding the efforts of the church of Rome. Lay patrons also, of the reformed faith were exhorted not to present the Romish clergy to their benefices. To these, and other regulations of a similar tendency, the synod added general protests against the encroaching nature of the public measures, and, especially, against the intrusion of the priests into parishes and churches exclusively protestant.

These proceedings were as ineffectual as the mandate of Canute: the tide continued to roll in. The missionaries gained possession of the church

at Luc. They extended their conquests on all sides. When they encountered resistance of too aggressive a nature, the redress they obtained at the royal hand, was more than commensurate with the evil suffered, and not only compensated the check, but aided their advance. While the missionaries and priests worked above ground, the Jesuits worked under ground. A prudential regard for their own interests and none for those of their opponents, regulated their proceedings; for the dread and doubtfulness of a simultaneous assault, seems to have been the only reason why the Protestant institutions were not at once laid low.

While this unhappy contest was thus proceeding, he, who commenced it, was summoned to his dread account in another world. In 1610 Henry IV. of France was murdered by a priest of that communion which he had forsaken Protestantism to embrace.

Henry had reigned thirty-eight years over the kingdom of Navarre, his birth-place. His easy sociable temper, his brave and spirited conduct in the field, while at the head of his Navarrese protestants, had endeared him to his countrymen, who hailed in his personal excellence, a worthy successor of Marguerite de Valois and Jeanne d'Albret. But during the last twenty years of his reign he became a stranger to his native country;

he forsook the religion of his people ; he reversed the decrees of his maternal predecessor, whose name was associated with the institution of that religion, and the best interests of the country ; he broke up the established order and the peaceful unity which time had so happily produced, and this in opposition to his own solemn declaration, to his people's urgent appeals, and to his sainted mother's dying entreaty ! It will scarcely be urged that a deep and settled conviction of religious truth led the libertine and inconstant monarch to attempt these changes. Nor will it be asserted that the violation of a solemn engagement or a disguised mode of acting, are consistent with any religious conviction. The edict of Fontainebleau was a solemn pledge to a certain course of proceeding. It was a declaration and guarantee of privilege. But it was used merely as a shield, behind which an inimical advance might with more security be made. The crown of France (at least the undisputed enjoyment of it,) was the price that Henry received for his second apostacy ; but the crown of Navarre was already his, and by the strongest of titles, since he was the son and heir of Jeanne d'Albret. There was no obvious necessity for a religious change in his countrymen, because their sovereign had changed his religious profession ; nor since Protestantism, even in France,

was recognized and protected by the state, could there exist any conscientious reason for denying the Bearnoise people as a nation, what was guaranteed to every Protestant *individual* in the realm.

Had Henry the Fourth of France adhered to the scriptural religion he was brought up in; had he trusted in the God who, that religion must have taught him, never forsakes those who sincerely obey him; what a different aspect might the continent of Europe, nay the whole world, have exhibited at this day! Had the crown of France been lost through adherence to principle, that principle would have gained popular importance, and the sacrifice have constituted a legitimate claim to the title of *great*. Navarre, as a Protestant kingdom, under *such a king*, would have upheld, and been reciprocally supported by, the Protestants of France; their cause must have gained, as it had gained, a more extensive hold on that nation, through the active maintenance of its enlightened doctrines. Had Henry the Fourth acquired a firm seat in the throne of France, without a change of religion, what a wide extent of prospect opens! But, these are vain speculations,—he reigned as a Romanist, and died such, on the 14th of May, 1610.

CHAPTER X.

LOUIS XIII. CONFIRMATION OF THE EDICT OF FONTAINEBLEAU. GRIEVANCES OF THE PROTES- TANTS.

LOUIS XIIIth, the son of Henry, was in his tenth year only, when he succeeded to the crowns of France and Navarre. His mother, Mary de Medicis, the hereditary opponent of Protestantism, obtained the regency of these states; but the Protestants of the two countries were a numerous and powerful body, and it was, consequently, expedient to retain them in peaceable subjection. One of the earliest measures, therefore, of the Regent, was to confirm the edicts of Nantes and Fontainebleau, and to grant permission for the representatives of the Reformed church to meet in general assembly. These periodical meetings had been of most essential service to the reformed religion, by the union of interests and the mutual aid, which the knowledge of each others' grievances

enabled them to afford. For this reason, Henry IV. had interdicted this assemblage, without his previous concurrence; a favour readily obtained, when the assembly had no point of interest to discuss, but more generally withheld from distrust of consequences.

The pope, (Paul V.) was highly displeased at the yielding disposition of the Regent. Henry IV. had declared the edict of Nantes, to be "*irrevocable et perpetuelle*," and the holy Father was moved to anger, that the new sovereign should be led to adhere to the solemn engagement of his parent and predecessor. But the regent despatched a confidential messenger to Rome, to disavow the charge of sincerity, declaring that the apparent concessions were only specious—'*d'arreter quelques esprits brouillons et inquiets.*' The truth of the assertion was shortly proved.

The general assembly of the Protestant church of France, consisting of ministers and laymen, (*anciens* or elders), from the fifteen districts into which that church was divided, met, after much delay, at Saumur, on the 25th of May, 1611. To this assembly Bèarn sent four deputies, in addition to the governor of Navarre, the marquis de la Force, who had been elected a deputy by the province of Guienne. The most sanguine expectations were excited throughout the protes-

tant community, respecting the advantages to be derived from this religious congress. Much had been endured; much was to be remedied. The hopes, which always attend a new reign, were not entirely dissipated, although various instances had occurred of contravention of the edicts of privilege, so recently confirmed: only a few months after the death of Henry, the bishop of Lescar in Bèarn had triumphantly obtained possession of his cathedral, and had re-established his authority in full exercise. The Jesuits, also, presuming on the favour of the court, had effected an entry into Bèarn, and having procured a royal ordinance interdicting the protestants from having more than *one* school of their communion in each place, the proselyting Fathers filled up the vacant ground with their own scholastic institutions.

These and other grievances were laid before the congress at Saumur, which had elected the Marechal de Bouillon (a nobleman of considerable political influence,) as president. But amongst the other deputies at Saumur, was one from the queen regent, who had commissioned him to proceed thither to gain over adherents to the court. This individual was La Varenne, valet-de-chambre to the king. The character and station of this agent, as well as the object of his mission, peculiarly illustrate the views of the

court, and the opinion entertained of those of the protestant party. But the regent was not entirely ignorant of all she had to deal with: for La Varenne was so successful as to purchase the treachery of the president, de Bouillon. Through his medium, the regent was informed of the designs and secret proceedings of the assembly, which he contrived to lead into discussions that would afford occasion to the interference of the court. Separate statements of grievances, requiring redress, were ultimately drawn up by the assembly on the part of France, and that of Navarre, but before they could be laid before the government, the deputies were required by the regent to delegate their duties to a committee of six, (two of which were to be named by the crown,) and to dissolve the assembly. It was accordingly dispersed on the 8th of September, after four months ineffectual labour, and the deputies separated, in the spirit of the advice given by one of their associates, the amiable du Plessis Mornay: 'let us,' said he, 'then separate, and let each one leave here his animosities. It would only augment our evils to carry them with us. Let us endeavour to obtain by a respectful silence and a christian endurance, that which we cannot gain by our remonstrances.'

The dissolution of the General Assembly was,

soon after, followed by an ordinance for the abolition of provincial meetings or synods. This, in effect, was an abrogation of church government. It was an open declaration of the ultimate design of the court.

A general expression of indignation could not be repressed. The Navarrese protestants had not been included in the restriction of synods, and the synod of Pau was sitting at the time this edict was published. They immediately despatched one of their body, M. Duprat, to the queen, to protest against the extension of the ordinance to Bèarn, and to remonstrate generally against the progressive encroachments of the Romanists. Duprat acquitted himself of this mission with consummate skill and prudence. Knowing that the cause he advocated would carry no weight with it, he applied himself to obtain personal friends and private favour, and succeeded in obtaining not alone fair promises, but a gratuity of twelve hundred livres, for the support of the reformed church at Navarre, and an order for the immediate payment of the arrears due to its ministers. The queen regent also addressed a letter to the synod of Bèarn, in which she promised security for their religion and privileges, and claimed their fidelity as subjects in return.

The motive of these gracious measures was ob-

vious. The protestant party in France threatened at that time an appeal to arms. The military heads of that party had met at Grenoble and at Tonneins, in the western side of France, the deputation from the churches were assembled. To this latter body the protestants of Navarre sent four deputies. They were well aware that their hope of existence, as a religious body, solely depended on an union with their brethren in France, and that the professions made by the court were only intended to prevent such accordance. During the last twenty years they had seen the government of France persevering in a series of deprivation of privileges, and aiding the advance of Romanism, notwithstanding the edicts it had issued, and the professions it made. The assembly at Tonneins had been convoked, under royal permission, to name a new committee of deputies to succeed those appointed at Saumur. The refusal of this permission would have thrown on the court the charge of instigating the protestants to a more urgent mode of demand; and the grant of it was accepted by the protestants as the last they might expect. It was used accordingly.

The two assemblies at Tonniens and Grenoble adjourned to Nismes, the centre of French protestantism. Articles of union between the French and Navarrese churches were agreed on, and mea-

tures of defence taken. At that period (1616) the court of France had thrown off the mask with respect to protestantism. An alliance with Spain, and the destruction of heresy, had been resolved on ; but the detail of these political circumstances belongs to the history of France, which is replete with facts exculpatory of the nature of the defence which the French and Navarrese protestants were forced to adopt.

The duke de Rohan raised a body of armed protestants, and marching to the banks of the Dordogne, was joined by the marquis de Laforce, the governor of Bèarn. Their object was to oppose the passage of the king to Bordeaux, where he was going to celebrate his union with the infanta of Spain. The king, however, arrived at Bordeaux by sea. The synod of Pau thought it more consistent with their character to remonstrate peaceably, and accordingly, despatched two of their body to the king at Bordeaux. They were well received, but Laforce was deprived of his government. The Bearnoise, however, retained the marquis in his post, which he had so long and ably filled, and enabled him to raise troops for the maintainance of the peace and institutions of the country.

In February 1617, a conference between the king's party and that of the prince de Conde, the

chief of the reformed, led to a peace. But Bèarn, and its affairs, were not included in this negotiation; a desire of self-security led the prince to avoid entangling himself with other matters than his own. A similar spirit, it is to be feared, caused the French synod of Vitre, subsequently assembled, to decline receiving deputies from Bèarn. The Navarrese were thus left, as it were, at the feet of the king; while the Romanists of that kingdom seized the moment for urging on the court the immediate realization of their wishes. The Romish members of the estates of Navarre petitioned the king to unite the two countries of France and Navarre under the same laws, and to re-establish the Roman catholic worship in its ancient lustre. This proceeding roused increased effort on the part of the protestants. An extraordinary synod was assembled at Pau; the council of state drew up arguments against the petition, and meetings of the most influential of the reformed party were held. Representations and resolutions were forwarded to the government, and the ardent feeling of the people expressed in every possible way. All was vain. The recent peace with the Huguenots of France, and their desertion of their brethren in Navarre, was an opportunity not to be neglected. On the 25th of June, 1617, Louis XIII. signed an edict at Fon-

tainbleau, directing that the Roman Catholic religion should be re-established in every town, village, and locality in Navarre, and that full and entire restoration should be made to the bishops and clergy of that church of all tithes, lands, rents, and other possessions heretofore held by them. The exercise of protestant worship was nevertheless allowed, and the sum of seventy-eight thousand crowns allowed, out of the *surplus* revenue of the state, for the support of its ministers. Now the sum allowed to the Romanist clergy in Bèarn, by the government, since their entry, by virtue of the first edict of Fontainebleau, was twenty-four thousand crowns; so that it would appear, even supposing the same scale of remuneration to be allowed to both communions, that the protestants were more than *thrice* the number of the Romanists. This sudden overthrow of the religious establishment of the great majority of the people, consequently excited great commotion. An assembly of the chief persons in Bèarn took place at Orthez, by whom Paul Lescun, a counsellor of state, and a man of great talent and of deserved popularity, was deputed to personally entreat the king to re-consider the decree. Lescun, who excelled as an orator, pleaded the cause of his country with energy and judgment, but the utmost he could obtain was the extension of the period for

the resumption of ecclesiastical property, till the February following, but the immediate installation of the Romish clergy was peremptorily ordered. The estates of Bèarn refused to register this edict. The government declared that the two nations of France and Navarre were united, and that the registry of the edict in any other court of the crown domain was sufficient. It was accordingly verified and registered by the parliament of Bordeaux and Thoulouse.

The crown and the people were now at issue; the people referred the case to the highest tribunal. A day of fasting and prayer was appointed to be simultaneously observed in all the Protestant churches of Navarre. How many fervent petitions for guidance by infinite wisdom, how many earnest appeals to the ruler of kings, must have been breathed forth on that day. Shortly after that act of solemn devotion, another great national meeting was held at Orthez, at which it was resolved to make a final appeal to the king and his cabinet. These reiterated, peaceable, but firm expostulations, show the deep and Christian feeling of this persecuted people. An address was despatched to the sovereign in the name of the assembly. The king refused to receive it!

On the 9th of June 1618, Renard, a commissary of the king, arrived at Pau, with a large

retinue of followers, and accompanied by the bishop of Lescar, commissioned to superintend the execution of the edicts in favour of the Romanists. At the same time a deputation of ministers of the Reformed church, the syndics of Bèarn, and the chiefs of the country, laid a protest before the council of state at Pau, against the execution of those edicts. Renard declared the council incompetent to receive or judge such protest. The council thought otherwise, and not only received the protest, but on the 29th of June, decided that they could not allow Renard to execute the edict, in respect of the resumption of ecclesiastical property, or the forced replacing of Romish worship. This decision was received by the people with enthusiastic joy. Since the arrival of the royal commissioner, crowds of Protestants from all parts of the province had hastened to Pau, anxious for the result of the Protest. The scholars from Orthez were particularly noticed. They wore in their caps a *fox's tail*, in allusion to the name of the Romanist agent *Renard*. The fashion became general. Insults were heaped upon the unwelcome visitant, and such was the furious delight of the mob at Pau, that he found it expedient to leave the town two days after the decision of the council. It is an evidence of the Anti-Romanist spirit of the

Bèarnoise people, that Renard found no resting-place of safety till he reached Dax on the Adour, beyond the confines of Bèarn, where he waited the orders of the king. The bishops of Lescar and Oloron, also, who had anticipated a triumphant installation into all their mitred honours, considered it prudent to avoid the storm raised against them, and fled to Paris.

The French cabinet was indignant at this opposition, but took no steps for the forcible maintenance of its authority. The crooked and barbed weapons that had been generally used against the Protestants, directed with a steady and patient aim, had always been more effectual than the thundering rush of impatient anger, with the engines of the state. Renard, notwithstanding his name, was not considered a suitable agent for a second mission. He was therefore ordered to transmit his commission and papers to another agent of the court, who was a resident at Pau, Desquille, a counsellor of the Navarrese chancery. To this individual an additional edict of the French king was privately sent, which he was instructed to deliver to the governor and council of Navarre. Desquille quietly took measures for fulfilling this commission. He, unexpectedly, required an audience of the council, shewed his authority, and placing the royal edict in the hands

of the governor, suddenly retired, and mounting a horse, quitted Pau before the knowledge of his mission had transpired.

This adroit, but undignified mode of communicating a royal order, is highly lauded by the Romanist historians, who appear to be either insensible to or regardless of the tyranny of forcing a change of religion on a people so generally and so strongly opposed to it, as the circumstance they narrate so clearly evinces.

The edict which Desquille delivered to the authorities of Navarre, comprised the king's motives, which he was thus pleased to state: 'That in the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in Bèarn, and in the orders given for the restitution of ecclesiastical property, he principally proposed to relieve his conscience, which would not permit him any longer to leave the Catholics of that country in slavery, or their clergy and prelates labouring under the deprivation of their goods, so justly acquired by the donations of the faithful.'¹

¹ At the sacre or coronation of the king, (Louis XIII.) the following declaration was made by him:—'Je tacherai de bonne foi et selon mon pouvoir de chasser de ma juridiction et des terres de mon obeissance, les heretiques condamnès par l'Eglise.' This having excited much alarm amongst the Huguenots, Louis published another declaration on the 12th of May 1615, in which he promised to keep *inviolably* his engagements with them. But the *bonne foi* was better kept than the *inviolable engagement*.

By so doing he fulfilled the will of his glorious father, who, frequently, previously to his decease, had expressed his regret that he had not been able to remedy those disorders. That one of his principal motives had, likewise, been to maintain peace and union amongst his subjects, which could not exist whilst the clergy were deprived of their just rights, of which they had been despoiled by the *pretended* reformers. That, however, far from maltreating these reformers, he had, by his indulgence, removed all cause of complaint, and even furnished them with motives of gratitude, in providing for their wants, and the support of their worship and ministers in a way that could leave them nothing to desire,' &c. Finally, the edict, after eulogizing the royal clemency, which led his majesty 'rather to act like a father who pardons, than a judge who punishes,' peremptorily directs the registering and execution of his edicts.

This mandate met with no better reception than its predecessor. The people appeared to throw aside all apprehension of consequences in the ardour of enthusiasm for their cause. The synod of Bèarn endeavoured to soothe down public feeling, from the wildness of heat and clamour, into a firm and steadfast principle, and to strengthen men's minds by the *spirit* of that religion whose *form* they contended for. A solemn fast had been

held on the 1st of March previous; another was now appointed for the 1st of July. The national association at Orthez continued its sittings. The press teemed with productions called forth by the spirit of the times. Amongst these works one was particularly distinguished. It was entitled, '*Apologie des eglises Reformeës, de l'obeissance du Roi et des Etats de Bèarn, pour justifier les oppositions par eux formies contre la main levée des biens ecclesiastiques.*' It was written by Jean Paul de Lescun, who had been deputed by the national assembly at Orthez the preceding year, (1617) to remonstrate against the measures of the crown. While at Paris on that occasion, he had published two other works on the same exciting topic, which had attracted much attention. The one '*Avis d'un Gentilhomme,*' &c, was a summary of arguments, and the other, '*Memoires sur les opposition aux pourmte des Eveques,*' &c., a narrative of events connected with these edicts, and the hostile proceedings of the court against the Protestant religion.

However the people might view the edicts and intentions of the king, it was necessary that the local government should treat them with decorous respect. There appears to have been great difficulty in determining how to effect this consistently with their judgment, and the feeling of the coun-

try. But after two month's delay, the council of Navarre made a humble representation to his majesty, recapitulating the fundamental laws of the kingdom, under which it was necessary that they should proceed, and stating that the several parties affected by the edicts, would be required to state their respective demands and objections previous to registering, and, consequently, executing those decrees.

The political condition of France at this period, appears to have prevented the king from pursuing the measure with any vigour. This relaxation encouraged the Navarrese. The synod which met at Pau on the 15th of April 1619, came to an unanimous resolution to stand fast to their rights, which had been bestowed on them by Jeanne d'Albret, and had been ratified by Henry IV., and by the queen-regent at the commencement of the present reign. This declaration was signed by all the nobility and gentry of the Protestant faith assembled at Orthez.

At this period (23rd May,) the general assembly of the French Protestant church met at Loudun. Lescun was deputed by the Bèarnoise synod to attend it, and with his accustomed energy and eloquence, pressed on the assembly, and succeeded in obtaining their vote for a petition to the king, for the repeal of his edict for the re-estab-

lishment of the Romish church in Bèarn. It was presented to the king at Chantilly, but scornfully rejected, as were the remonstrances against other grievances. The assembly at Loudun came to a resolution, not to separate till their grievances were heard. They were commanded to dissolve the meeting before the 25th of January, 1620. This peremptory mandate roused the spirit of the Protestant party. Preparations were made for resistance, but the calmer counsels of Duplessis, Mornay, and others, prevailed. They separated without any result in April following.

This suspension of effort on the part of the French Protestants, enabled the king to proceed with his designs against Bèarn. That province had become more calm in the expression, but not cooler in the degree of feeling. A new attack on their religion had, in some measure, diverted the attention of the people from the king's edicts, to the immediate agent of this fresh encroachment. Father Daniel, provincial of the Capuchins in Guienne, had ventured to proceed to Pau, and commence preaching. He was challenged to a theological discussion by M. Charles, the Protestant professor of divinity at Orthez, and the great hall of the Estates, in the Chateau de Pau, was assigned for the controversy. The utmost interest was excited. Both disputants, of course, claimed the

victory ; but without any deep critical enquiry, we may safely assign it to the Protestant champion, since Father Daniel, in his version of the discussion, complains that '*very few Catholics were admitted.*'

While these controversies were going on in Bèarn, the people were suddenly electrified with the intelligence that the king had arrived at Bordeaux. The utmost alarm seized on all. The synod instantly met and despatched two deputies, (L'abbadie, the minister of Pau, and Desmarez,) to the assembly of the French church then sitting at Alais, to concert the measures to be adopted. The governor, the Marquis de la Force, and Cassaux, president of the council, also set off to meet the king at Bordeaux. Louis immediately sent them back to Pau, with peremptory orders to return immediately with the act of registration of his late edicts, and despatched a confidential agent to report the proceedings. The statement sent to the king, by this agent, of the opposition and excitement of the mass of the people, determined him to proceed personally to Pau. He accordingly left Bordeaux, but was stopped at Grenade on the frontier of Bèarn, by some local difficulty. The knowledge of the king's approach at once determined the conduct of the council. The edicts were duly registered on the 8th of October,

1620. The Marquis de la Force set out immediately for Grenade with the act of registration, hoping to prevent the king from entering Bèarn, but the monarch would not be deterred, but proceeded on his march.

Louis XIII. entered Pau (the capital of the ancient domain of his family) on the 15th of October. A gloomy silence accompanied his progress to the Chateau. No sort of display, on the part of his subjects, testified joy or a wish to shew respect. It was the entry rather of a foreign conqueror amongst a vanquished people, than the heir of their loved and honoured native dynasty. So manifestly adverse was the population, that the king only remained two days at Pau, proceeding on to Navarrenx. This town was the only strong place in Bèarn, and contained as its garrison, the sole corps of regular troops. These troops had participated in the expression of feeling against the king's edicts, especially on hearing of his arrival at Bordeaux, and there appeared to be some doubt whether they would accede to the royal will so readily as the people of Pau had done. The king, therefore, sent forward a regiment of his body guard under the count de Schomberg, to precede him to Navarre. The count was received by the governor, Desales, who, being informed that etiquette required him to advance to meet

the king, left the fortress at the head of the chief part of the garrison. Schomberg immediately seized on the gates, and held the city for the king. Desales was rewarded for his acquiescing simplicity, by being deprived of his government. Similar precautions were taken to secure Orthez, from whence a great proportion of the Protestants fled. They considered themselves compromised by the active part taken against Renard.

The king shortly after returned to Pau, where he directed the church of St. Martin, then the only one, to be resumed by the Romanists, and to be *purified* by the usual ceremonies after its *profanation by the Protestants*. He caused the act of union between France and Navarre to be registered. He directed the bishops and clergy to take their seats at the council of state and the meeting of estates ; and placed them in full possession of their pristine wealth and honour. He then, having overturned the laws and institutions of the last fifty years, demanded an oath of fealty from his subjects, and, very characteristically, bound himself to respect and maintain their rights and privileges ! On concluding these authoritative acts, his majesty joined in a solemn procession and mass, carrying a lighted taper through the streets in a very edifying manner. Five days sufficed for the despatch of these mo-

mentous affairs, after which Louis XIII. (surnamed by the Romanist historians, the *Just*) quitted the castle of his ancestors (the scene of so many interesting events) and the people, whose institutions he had destroyed, fully persuaded by his confessor (the jesuit Darnoux) that he had acted piously towards God, and wisely towards men.

CHAPTER XI.

PROGRESSIVE DEPRIVATION OF PROTESTANT PRIVILEGES.

THE intelligence of the overthrow of the Protestant church in Navarre, was received with the utmost indignation by the Huguenots of France. They saw, in the course taken by the king, the fate that was ultimately destined for themselves. A simultaneous rising, in the Protestant districts of Languedoc and Guienne, took place against the Romanists of those provinces. The royal forces in Bèarn being called into action in those districts, the repressed spirit of the Navarrese sprung into reaction. An assembly of the Protestants was held at Pau, at which resolutions were passed declaratory of their determination to resist the resumption of Romanist sway. An attempt was also made to surprise Navarrenx; but the loss suffered on the occasion only tended to exasperate the country. The spirit of resist-

ance again became general, and the governor, the marquis de Laforce, found it expedient to sanction the non-execution of the king's edict respecting the Romanists. The triumph was a short one. In May 1621, the duke d'Epèrnon was commissioned by the king to enter Bèarn with a force of two thousand foot and five hundred horse, which being joined by the Romanist party, enabled him, in three weeks, to resume possession of the whole country. The marquis de Laforce was deprived of the government, and compelled to fly; the marshal de Themines, a rigid Romanist, being appointed in his stead. The Romanists were again placed in possession of the churches and ecclesiastical property; those of the Protestant party, who were compromised by the late proceedings, flying to the neighbouring recesses of the Pyrennees.

This *detour* of the king's forces, enabled the Protestants of the neighbouring provinces of France to make head against his authority. So stoutly did they maintain their ground, that Louis himself found it necessary to appear on the scene of action, and on the 16th of August, laid siege to Montauban, with a force of ten thousand men, and forty-five pieces of artillery, a tremendous train at that period. The marquis de Laforce, with many of the Bearnoise refugees, were in the town,

under the chieftainship of the duke de Rohan, but the whole of the garrison was under two thousand men; though the citizens, and even the women, distinguished themselves in active and enthusiastic opposition to the besiegers. M. Charles, the professor of divinity at Orthez, was also there, and contributed with other zealous Protestant ministers to maintain the spirit of the garrison and people. After attempting every mode of attack during a siege of three months, Louis was compelled, to his great mortification, to retire with great loss and dishonour.

This defeat inspired the Protestants. The people of Montpellier rose and drove all the Romish priests, monks, and nuns, out of their city on the 21st of November, a week after the king's retreat from Montauban. The example was widely followed, but the Bèarnoise were kept in check by the troops and Romish refugees, who fell back on that province. By a detachment of these, Lescun, the indefatigable and talented opponent of the Romanists, was taken. He was carried a prisoner to Bordeaux, where being charged with having perverted the public mind against the king by his writings and speeches, he was condemned to have his head, legs, and arms cut off, which cruel sentence was carried into effect on the 18th of May, 1622. A very different fate

awaited the marquis de Laforce, only three days afterwards. The marquis had attained that period of life, when action in the field is unsuitable. His long continuance in the honorable post of governor of Bèarn, had made the loss of that dignity peculiarly grievous to him. It is possible also, that the calmer consideration, which increasing age produced, had led him to calculate the probable fatal termination of the contest he was engaged in. Whatever were the conducive motives, the leading one was obviously his own *aggrandisement*; for, after a short negotiation with the court, he quitted the ranks of the reformers, and was honoured with the *baton* of a marshal of France, on the 21st of May, 1622. At this period, the king was again in the field against the Protestants. After various fortune, a peace was signed between Louis and the duke de Rohan, highly favorable *in point of stipulation*, to the cause of the latter. The edict of Nantes was re-confirmed, and the Protestants placed, *nominally*, in possession of all the privileges they desired.

This peace enabled the king to proceed with his measures in Bèarn. The *Jurats*, or town councillors, of those places most noted for their adhesion to Protestantism, were removed, and their posts filled with Romanists. The reformed clergy were turned out of their churches, and the priests

reinstated. The Protestants were denied the use of bells, and admission to the church-yards. Their schoolmasters were left without salaries, and consequently, were obliged to give up their occupations. On the other hand, in those parts of the country where there was no power to coerce, the Protestants refused to pay tithes to the Romish priests, or to allow any sums to be paid out of the public rates for purpose connected with their worship. At Orthez, the cordeliers entered the town, to resume possession of their ancient domicile, under the auspices of the new Jurats. But the possession was disputed by those who had purchased the building. The Jurats ordered force to be used to obtain entrance, but the people rose and drove the cordeliers away, wounding and maltreating several. Such was the state of society which the edict of Louis produced. The sudden stoppage of the tide of opinion caused it at first to rush with more force, but the barricades to stem it were every day raised higher and higher. The Jesuits and the Capuchins were established at Pau. The Barnabites opened a college at Ney, while the Protestant seminary was ordered to be closed. In order to instigate the young and aspiring to bend to their doctrines, the government filled up every vacant office with Romanists; while every discouragement was offered

to those of the reformed church who held offices by patent or custom. So bound and shackled was the province, that though another war between the Huguenots and the king broke out in 1625, yet the Navarrese evinced no sympathy in action.

In February 1626, peace was again concluded between the king and the Protestants. The first fruit of it was an edict issued by Louis to the people of Navarre, stating that their country was not included in the edict of Nantes, although now united with France : that grave inconveniences had arisen from having Protestants mingled with Catholics in the courts of that nation ; finally that the king forbade all collections, by ministers or others, that were not authorized by letters patent specially obtained. This was at once stopping up the source and fountain of the reformed worship, as well as throwing a national discredit on its members. The public grant which, it had been stipulated, should be allowed to the reformed church, was altogether a nullity, and, by the closure of private resource, the fall and ruin of that institution was ensured. The flagrant treachery and stern tyranny of the measure, increased its effect, since the hopelessness of opposition was, thereby, more completely manifested. In 1628, the fall of Rochelle, the bulwark of the Protestant cause in France, deprived that party of their

last hope of successful resistance to the yoke imposed upon them.

It is worthy of remark, as evincing the rotatory nature of human progress, that the sons of many of the most ardent Protestants of Navarre were zealous combatants in the king's army against Rochelle. Eight years only had elapsed, since the complete restitution of Romanism had been effected: the sprouting branches had been trained in the way the government desired them to go; the influence of worldly principle and present hope had lured many; the want of any principle had, possibly, led more; for in the contest of opinions, a sort of neutral ground is usually established, where a refuge may be found from the sway of either. How vitally important, to the well-being of society, is the nature of a government! How deeply responsible are those who constitute it!

The fate of the town of Pamiers, in the county of Foix, will afford an example of the mode of treatment inflicted on those who adhered to their faith. Pamiers had declared for the duke de Rohan, in the outbreak of 1625. In the ensuing year it was taken by assault by the king's forces. The governor was executed and the remaining Protestants were driven out of the place. The churches, after being *purified from Protestant*

contagion, were occupied by the Romish clergy. All other modes of worship were rigidly prohibited. The love of home, (the altar-hearth of home,) induced the expelled citizens to creep back to their birth-spot. Some conformed to the Roman faith; others put on the semblance of conformity. A little band, however remained of faithful disciples, who, gradually, spread around them a negative influence, till, at last, the Protestants again became so numerous as to come forth and claim participation in the rights of citizenship. But the arm of power was again extended. The parliament of Thoulouse issued mandates for the suppression of the rising body, and, as the Romanist historians express it,—‘peace was once more established in the town.’ But ‘in those times there was *no peace* to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries.” (2 Chron. xv. 5.)

The family of Laterrade at Pau, were Protestants. Two of the daughters, Jeanne and Marie Laterrade, had been lured by the pomp and specious arguments of the priests, so as to evince an inclination to become Romanists. The unhappy parents urged every argument against this declension, and proceeded to a more authoritative endeavour to deter their children from apostacy.

The disappointed priests applied to the parliament of Pau, by whose orders, the two females were taken from their parent's house, and placed in the convent of Notre Dame. The protestant consistory took up the case, on the part of the parents, and addressed the governor. But the application was vain. The grasp of "the Church," was inflexible.

But the impatient expectations of the Romish party were not realized with sufficient rapidity. In 1633 the king issued an edict restricting the Protestant ministers from preaching in any other places than where they resided. This was an effectual crush to missionary exertions, or the extension of individual ability. As it allowed no substitution in the case of death or disability, the enforcement of this edict necessarily led to more and more restriction. The synod was also prohibited from executing any ecclesiastical function, without the consent of the parliament. Not even a day of fasting or prayer could be simultaneously held without the sanction of the Romish authorities.

In 1640, more coercive measures were adopted. The parliament of Pau decreed that no Protestant place of worship should be allowed to exist in any place where there were fewer than ten resident families of that persuasion.¹

¹ A measure of a similar nature was proposed in the British parliament, with respect to the Protestant church in Ireland, in 1835.

This decree roused the Navarrese Protestants to exert themselves against the desolating oppression that was every day bearing more heavily on them. The synod drew up a petition to the king against this measure and the other restrictions under which they laboured. The monarch did not condescend to notice the petition.

At this period the Protestants were much dispirited by a secession from their body of one of their most popular ministers, Martin, minister of Cartets. He had been engaged for thirty-seven years in that office, and was now in the seventieth year of his age. His only son had been brought up under his own eye, and was intended to succeed him in his ministerial office. The fond father, however, thought that his son's talents were worthy of a more finished education, and, as there were now no professors of his own faith, he was tempted by the high sounding titles of those of the Barnabite college at Nay, to trust him to their tuition. Young Martin had nearly attained his twentieth year, and fortified, as it was conceived, by early and long acquaintance with the tenets of the reformed church, of which he was considered a sincere disciple, he set out to be instructed by the monks of Nay.¹ Here his progress was rapid,

¹ It is surprising to find many English protestants on the continent, sending their children, with strange inconsistency or re-

so much so that the Barnabite brethren considered him worthy of every effort to detach him from the faith he was brought up in, and to place his light in their own candlestick. They cautiously abstained, however, from attacking *his doctrines*, but first wrought him into implicit credence in *apostolical succession*, and the *authority of the church*. The descent was then rapid to a total prostration before those who claimed the inheritance of that authority. When they had entangled him in the mazes of *school divinity*, he was easily secured and bound, and, in this state, sent to the monastery of Nolan, to enter on his noviciate as a Barnabite monk.

The father of Martin knew nothing of this change in his son's opinions until it was too late to counteract them. Arguments, prayers, entreaties, were ineffectual. In due time young Martin became a monk, and the disappointed parent refused all intercourse with his perverted son: but the young Barnabite now took a new view of his filial duty—he *determined to convert his father*. For two years the young man attempted to gain an interview with his angry parent. He was allowed to leave his convent to

ligious indifference, to Romanist places of instruction. If it be a blessed work to be accessory to the saving of a soul, what must it be to aid in destroying one?

reside near the minister of Cartets, till at last his patient assiduity appeared to soften his father's heart. He was admitted to his house again; the old man thought that "he who was lost was found," but the religious "prodigal" came not to repent. Strange to say he wrought so powerfully on his father's mind that he won him over from the faith of scripture, to "the doctrines of men." Still more singular it was to find that the elder Martin became an active coadjutor with his son in missionary effort. He published a statement of his reasons for quitting the faith he had advocated for seven and thirty years. It was profusely circulated by the Romanist party, and drew general attention to the aged convert, who was successfully used as a lure to the people. A day was appointed for his public recantation in the cathedral of Lescar, to which he was led by crowds of priests in solemn procession, and attended by multitudes of people from the surrounding district. After a *Te Deum*, the ex-minister recanted publicly, and exhorted his hearers (amongst whom it is said were eight hundred protestants) to quit the *way of perdition*, and return into the bosom of the church.

In the ensuing year, 1643, Louis XIII. deprived the ministers of the reformed church in Navarre, of the stipend he had engaged to give

them, on the resumption of ecclesiastical property by the Romanists. These allowances had been irregularly paid, but being now entirely discontinued, occasioned great distress. It will be recollected that in 1626, the Protestants had been prohibited from making collections of money without licence from the government, but this decree was now relaxed, and *permission* given to the Protestants *to support themselves*. This act of *grace* was the last which providence allowed Louis XIII. to extend to the Bearnoise Protestants. He quitted this world on the 14th of May, 1643.

CHAPTER XII.

LOUIS XIV. TYRANNOUS TREATMENT OF THE PROTESTANTS. THEIR DESTRUCTION. PRESENT STATE OF PROTESTANTISM.

THE history of Louis XIV. is, in relation to his Protestant subjects, a mere epitaph on their tomb. His reign, like that of his predecessor, commenced with assurances of favour and privileges ; but long before its termination, those privileges were destroyed, and that favour turned to deadly hatred. The Romanists do not conceal, that it was the fixed purpose of those two monarchs to destroy Protestantism, and that all their declarations of protection and advantage, were only held out to keep their victims in a steady posture on the block, till the moment for execution came.

The assurances made to the Protestants by Cardinal Mazarine, in the name of the young king, were accepted as realities, notwithstanding the experience of the past reign. If the edicts of

Nantes and Fontainebleau were *confirmed*, it appeared to the guileless reasoners, that all intervening and derogatory decrees were, *ipsô factô*, abolished. But this was not royal logic. The Bearnoise reformers, inspirited by that view of the king's declaration, began again to raise their heads and to extend their doctrines. This called forth the voice of authority, and on the 29th of January, 1644, a decree was issued, enforcing all the restrictions and penalties published during the previous reign. To enforce these, a commission, of six members of the Navarrese council of state, was appointed. The Protestants were unwilling to consider the assurances made to them, only a few months before, as a mere nullity. They petitioned the queen-regent, Anna of Austria, for the allowance of such privileges as were essential to their existence as a body, especially for the establishment of seminaries of their own communion. On the 14th of July, they received the royal reply. There were a sufficient number of seminaries in Bèarn, but as a special act of grace, a certain number of Protestant youths were to be educated, at the king's expence—in the *jesuit college at Pau!*

At the town of St. Sever the reformers, soon after the king's declaration, commenced rebuilding their church, which had been destroyed in the late

wars. This act of assumption was discovered by the commissioners of the council, and the heretical design prevented. At Nerac, where the majority of the inhabitants were of the Reformed religion, a school was opened for their children, but the hand of power quickly closed it. The same attempt and subsequent abolition, occurred in many other places, shewing that the vigour of life was still in the Protestant body, notwithstanding all the efforts of their enemies to subdue it. It was only for existence that the Reformers struggled. Their political importance was destroyed. They had neither force nor leaders; for all interchange and power of union being cut off, by the severe restrictions under which they laboured, no concert could exist amongst them, and they offered no advantages of aid to the ambitious or discontented heads of parties. But a purer principle, a more decidedly religious feeling, seems to have prevailed amongst them, from being thus secluded from political strife. Even when the civil war of the *Fronde* broke out, at the end of the year 1648, the lure of expectation or the wish for triumph, could not excite them into the contest against the king. This loyal demeanour gained them the cheap grace of *another confirmation* of the edict of Nantes. But the danger having passed, the persecution against the Protestants again commenced.

Notwithstanding every act of coercion, the doctrines of reform were not only firmly maintained but extended. It was 'a trial of the spirits.' The fearful, the weak in faith and mind, had been drawn out of the ranks of reform, by the proceedings of the Romanists; but the strong, the vigorous and firm remained, and became stronger from the loss of the weak. But the time was approaching when 'the three hundred of Thermopylæ' were to take their station in the pass.

The Romish hierarchy in France were dissatisfied with the slow process of extinction, which the wary cardinal at the head of the French government thought it expedient to adopt. In their Christian feeling they considered that the '*coup de grace*' should not be delayed. The assembly of the clergy of France, on the representation of the bishop of Commenges, addressed the Queen Regent to this effect in 1650. They represented that the Protestants were surreptitiously educating their children in their own opinions; that they were blasphemously building places for their heretical worship; and that they were unjustly collecting money for the support of their ministers, instead of contributing to the wealth of "the only true church." But, in the midst of the wars in which the government was involved, and the treachery and tergiversation of the leading characters of the

time, it was not expedient to crush at once the hopes of two millions of people. Acts of alternate grace and repression were extended towards them, by which they were retained in humble dependence, till the period—the fulness of time—had arrived for their destruction.

In August 1684, the Treaty of Ratisbon having put an end to the state of war in which Louis had been involved during his whole reign, preparations were made for cleansing the land from the contamination of Protestantism. On the 23d of the same month (August 1684) an ‘ordinance’ was issued, prohibiting any reformed minister from remaining more than three years in one place. It also prohibited the serving any other ministration within twenty leagues from the “temple” vacated, or from returning to such vacated place until after twelve years; nor was any minister, who had retired from his office, permitted to reside nearer than six leagues from the scene of his former labours. This was separating the officers from the troops, previously to breaking them. The Protestants remonstrated on the occasion, and in the statement which they drew up, enumerated the violations of the Edict of Nantes, which they had successively suffered. ‘Il étoit’ (says a Protestant writer Martimere) ‘si aisé de prouver qu’on l’avoit violé, qu’il y avoit une espèce de ridicule à l’entreprendre.’

Twelve days after, (4th September,) another 'ordonnance' closed all *private* Protestant chapels. On the 8th of January 1685, an interdiction was laid on the ministers in *public* chapels. On the 9th of July, it was forbidden to Protestants to be either printers or booksellers; nor was any Protestant allowed to retain a Romanist as a servant. These and other restrictive regulations were heaped upon the abused reformers, gradually pressing them down and preventing them from effort, just previous to their final overthrow. But these were tender mercies, compared to the means employed to extirpate Protestants in Bèarn and the western parts of France.

In September 1684, marshal Boufflers was sent into Bèarn with a strong force, who were billeted on the Protestants throughout the country, and upon whom they lived at discretion. Conformity to the Romish church was the only means of exemption. The utmost severity was exercised towards the unfortunate people, whose complaints were utterly unheeded. In the different towns public notice was given that, on a certain day, the troops would enter, and that all Protestants, who would conform in the interval, would be exonerated from the burden of their support and unlicensed conduct. At Oloron, this intimation was made by the bishop, to whom the inhabitants,

scared by the apprehension of the cruelties endured by others, almost entirely submitted. At Pau, a number of respectable Protestants offered to submit, on condition that the two ministers of the town should be released from prison. To the honour of the reformed clergy of Bèarn, the name of only one of them (Goulard) is mentioned as having renounced his faith.

These tyrannous measures (which were called *la Dragonade*) produced so much apparent conformity, that public rejoicings were *ordered* to be held at Pau. This *festivity* must have much resembled the dance of negroes in an African slave-ship!

On the 22nd of October, 1685, that fatal decree was registered, which destroyed evangelical religion in France, by the revocation of the edict of Nantes. In Bèarn, the Protestants had already been *dragonaded* into exterior conformity, but many fled into the fastnesses of the Pyrennees for shelter. Only *fifteen days* were allowed by the decree of revocation for conformity to the Romish church, or the infliction of penalties for recusancy. Those who did not at once "fly from the wrath to come," which their fellow-men had impiously taken upon them to fulminate, were compelled to bear the loss of either life, liberty, or religion. Troops were dispersed in all directions, in pur-

suit of fugitives, to whom no quarter was given ; and, to prevent escape by sea, a penalty of three thousand francs was imposed for every Protestant sheltered by captains or owners of vessels.

The events that occurred at this period, and the cruel results occasioned by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, are registered in the history of every Protestant nation, to whose refuge and sympathy, many thousands of the unfortunate Huguenots were enabled to fly. A medal struck in memory of this Romish *act of faith* by Louis XIV, states that 2,000,000 of Calvinists were brought back to the church, (' ob vices centena millia calviniarorum, &c. '); by which it would appear that they constituted a tenth part of the then population of France. At least two hundred thousand escaped, but the computation on the medal appears to be inclusive of the aggregate number. In the south of France the Protestants were, at the time, on the increase, a circumstance which, probably, led to the apparently sudden determination to stop their progress. Eighty ' temples ' had been built in Bèarn during the reign of Jeanne d'Albret, and the first ten years of that of Henry IV. At the period of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, nearly three hundred Protestant places of worship existed in that country. These were probably, mere " upper cham-

bers," unostentatious places of assembly for the most part, and yet publicly known and designated as Protestant "temples." Many parts of Navarre must necessarily, (from the severity of the edicts,) have been without any ostensible places of worship, and the shrinking Protestants have assembled only "in dens and caves of the earth." The number of *known* places of Protestant worship equalled those of the Romanists; it is not, therefore, an unfounded assumption, to calculate the former at two-thirds of the entire Bèarnoise population. The town of Salies, the *second* of size and population in Bèarn, is mentioned as having suffered much from the *dragonade*, on account of the *majority of the inhabitants being Protestants*. As the population of Bèarn, at that period, only amounted to about half of its present number, (450,000), it is probable there were nearly 150,000 Protestants subject to the tyrannous edict of 1685.

At present, there are scarcely five thousand *nominal* Protestants in this district. Persecution and patronage having been removed, they have dropped, in the absence of excitement, into an apparent state of lukewarmness. Here and there a zealous minister "prophecies upon the bones," and "a shaking" is visible. But the French character is not disposed to be sectarian in its

humbler sense, of separation and inferiority. The hubbub of concourse, or exterior distinction, are requisite to engage them. If a '*coup de religion*' could be effected with sufficient notoriety in any part of France, the excitement of a spirit might possibly spread; or, if Protestant "temples" could be reared, like their stately prototype of Charenton,¹ they could no doubt be speedily filled. But these very considerations are arguments for increased missionary efforts; and, happily, they are now in operation in several parts of France. Within the last few years, Protestant congregations have been formed at Avignon, Rheims, Tours, and other places; humble indeed as to number, but still forming links in the chain which may one day receive the electric fire from heaven, that may corruscate over and enlighten the whole of France.

The French reformed church is divided into sixteen synodal districts, having eighty-five consistories, and two hundred and eighty places of worship. There are also thirty-one consistories, and two hundred and eight churches of the 'Con-

¹ The Protestant *temple* of Charenton was destroyed by the mob of Paris, who poured forth to level it, in October 1685. The event is recorded by a medal then struck, representing the stately edifice in ruins, its fluted pillars of stone and solid masonry lying around in scattered heaps.

fession of Augsburg,' or Lutheran faith. The Societe Evangelique de France has, likewise, fourteen settled ministers, and eight *Evangelistes*, or missionaries. The European, or Continental society of London, and the Societè Evangelique of Geneva, are also in the field, independently of the Societè Biblique, and other bodies of auxiliaries.

The estimated number of Protestants in France, at present, is about a million and a half. Some raise the amount higher, but "they are not all Israel, which are of Israel." The droppings from the Romish church do not much swell the stream; but there are many of the *Guizot* school, (such as in England, are called 'rational Christians,') who roll with it. "The church of the Laodiceans" has many followers here.

In the south-west of France, (particularly the ancient Bèarn, the mild plastic character of the people, and historic recollections seem to invite missionary exertion. The sun that has set has left some warmth in the soil. May it rise again and endure, not merely as in former days, during the course of a polar summer, but "until time shall be no longer."

THE END.

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